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**ENGLAND
SUBSISTS BY MIRACLE.**

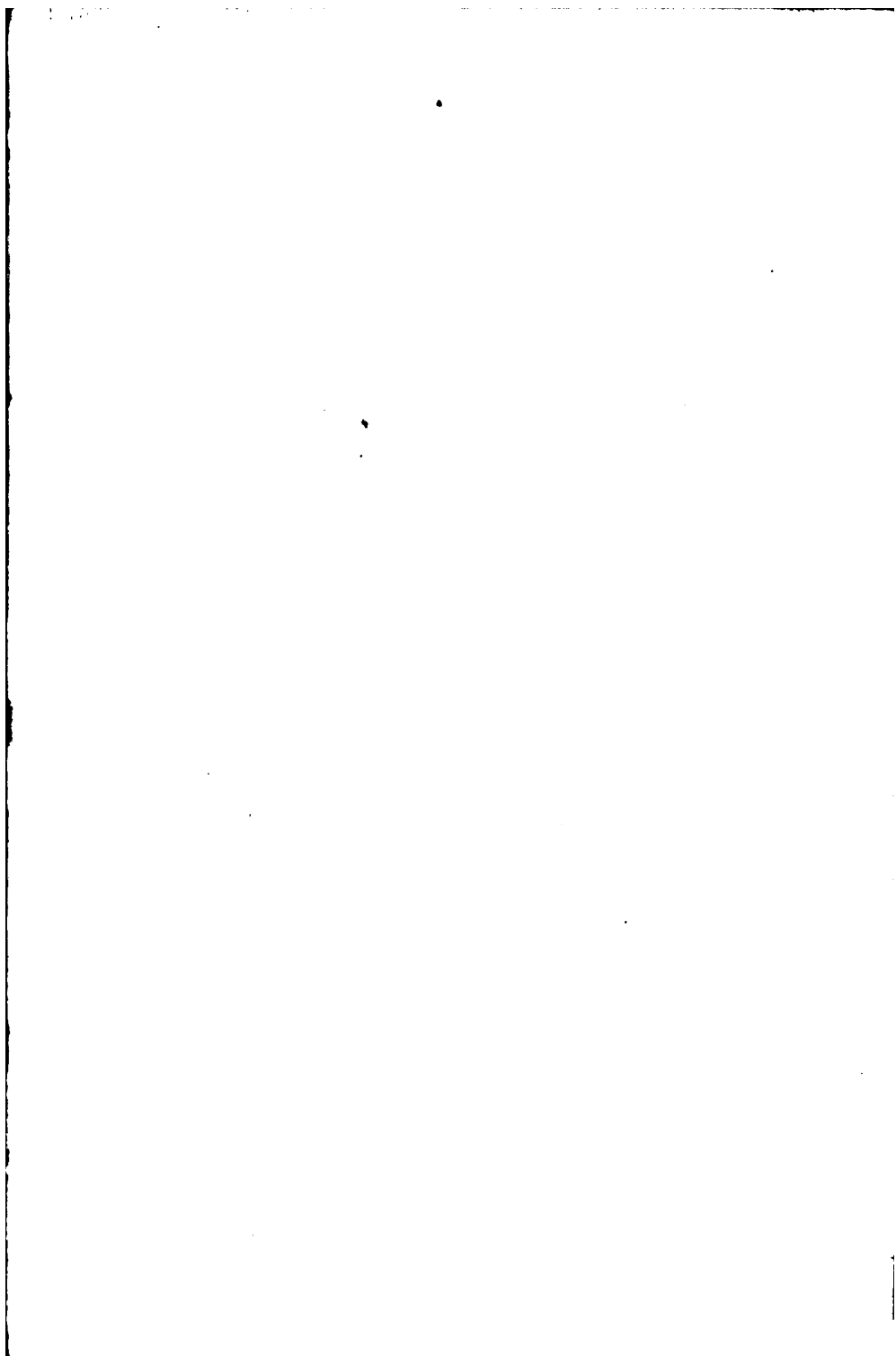
BY.
FELTHAM BURGLEY.

HALF-A-CROWN.



600018149T







ENGLAND

SUBSISTS BY MIRACLE.

BY

FELTHAM BURGHEY.

"Pardon what I have spoke ;
For 'tis a studied, not a present thought,
By duty ruminated."

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, Act 2, Sc. 2.

LONDON:
JAMES BLACKWOOD, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1869.

226. b. III.

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"THIS land of such dear souls—this dear, dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world,
Is now leased out (I die pronouncing it)
Like to a tenement, or pelting farm :
England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
With inky blots, and rotten parchment bonds ;
That England, that was wont to conquer others,
Hath made a shameful conquest of itself :
O, would the scandal vanish with my life,
How happy then were my ensuing death !"

RICHARD 2. Act 2, Sc. 1.

"Sed mihi sit Stygios ante intravisse Penates,
Talia quam videam ferientes pacta Latinos."

SILIUS ITALICUS.



P R E F A C E.

THE reader may, perhaps, feel some surprise to see so small a book upon so great a matter, when the tendency of the day runs in a quite contrary direction, and loves to dedicate marvellously large volumes to subjects of surprising littleness. The ancients had less respect for a big book. Æsop's Fables endue beasts and birds with a discourse of Spartan brevity, and evolve the moral in sentences as curt as soldiers' compliments. Phædrus, who Latinized them, hardly runs to 80 pages, with all the help of a Delphiu paraphrase and *variorum* notes. The characters of Theophrastus are all given in a few leaves. Pindar, whom no man can charge with sterility, has not left a twentieth part of what would go to make up the first work of a modern poet ; but if you would boil down fifty modern poets by a sort of culinary process to get stock, and even throw in a Laureate or two for the flavour of the bay leaf, it may be heresy to say it, but probably you would find there was less essential poetry in the fifty-two moderns than in the one old lyric. Time, says Lord Bacon—but what he meant by it does not appear—is of the nature of a stream, and conveys to us what is light and blown up, but drowns the weightier and more solid things. Perhaps he meant that the big books of antiquity, such as the six thousand volumes of Diomedes' *De Re Grammaticâ*, had gone to the bottom, whilst the light books, inflated or blown up with pure spirit, had risen at once to the surface, and would there float to the latest posterity ; this is

either what Lord Bacon intended, or precisely what he did not intend ; in the latter case it is all the better commentary. Be this as it may, a thought—if you have a thought—is easily conveyed in a page or two. Arguments are useless, and proofs a vanity of the spirit. If a man can see your meaning, he does not want proofs ; and if he cannot see it, either by your fault or his own, your arguments will not manufacture an eye for him. Pythagoras, when the acute and loquacious pressed him with arguments, could never be prevailed upon to enter the controversy, but simply said yes or no, which was final. The public certainly stands in the place of Pythagoras to all who enter the arena of literature. I have tried to show that some small books are great works, hoping to obviate a possible prejudice to the size of the present one. In the smallest book there is great room to be very foolish, but in a large one there is a certainty of being so. In this conviction I await from the public a Pythagorean answer.

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Various are the contrivances for the defence and security of cities * * * * * but there is one common bulwark with which men of prudence are naturally provided—the guard and security of all people, particularly of free states, against the assault of tyrants. What is this ? DISTRUST.

Leland's Demosthenes, 2d Philippic, p. 99.

ENGLAND SUBSISTS BY MIRACLE.

CHAPTER I.

ON TREATIES, EMBASSIES, AND FOREIGN SUBSIDIES.

“Exposed
To daily fraud, contempt, abuse, and wrong
Within doors, or without, still as a fool,
In power of others, never in my own.”

SAMSON AGONISTES, line 75.

ENGLAND subsists by miracle. The most warlike and restless people of Europe are in close proximity with her territory; themselves they have already submitted to the burdensome yoke of a military despotism; they cherish the recollection, not of the late victories which their armies united with the armies of England achieved in the East, but of battles fought half a century since, in which their jealous honour was supposed to have been tarnished; their ruler, in whom is vested all the resources of their great empire, has employed the policy of Brutus to overthrow the principles of Brutus, and has twice startled Europe by the sudden explosion of an unlooked for mine of ambition; he has trodden out to the last spark the free sympathies of his own nation and

people, whilst he has held out the red right hand of fellowship to us, who are more hearty in the cause he hates than France has ever been. Let no one doubt but that the bias of this man's mind inclines to Russia and not to England, and possibly more than the bias; and that Austria, if not Germany and Prussia too, is already destined in some prophetic and imperial manuscript to taste the cup of Poland; but this cannot be effectually done, unless England participates or is silenced.

Let any candid reader judge now of the Count de Montalembert's warning: "It is from without that the true perils of England threaten her; perils to which she may succumb, and respecting which she indulges in terrible illusions." The case is easily understood. The continent may, almost without metaphor, be described as being in a state of siege, so entirely has the military arm overtopped the legislative head. Europe crouches like a lion before the iron rod of its keepers. This consideration furnishes a vivid picture to the imagination of the intense degree of fear and hatred that must animate those keepers, so long as in this country the lion of liberty still walks free, and roars sympathetic wrath at the treatment of his continental kindred. This European lion in captivity will no doubt, when a war breaks out, make some sort of diversion in our favour, if we know in what way to turn its sympathy to account; but, by the old couplet—

"Sympathy without relief,
Is like mustard without beef."

And if we cannot help ourselves, and resist every home-thrust that may be aimed at us, the sympathies of foreign peoples will be of no more value to us than to Poland were the fine odes of our poets when Kosciuszko fell.

The whole organization of the continent would, on the declaration of war, be arrayed against us, because the thrones of Europe are against us. The force that would be hostile to us is therefore developed ; but the force resident in the peoples of Europe, and which might be brought over to our interest, is latent. Hence, we must be prepared single-handed to bear the shock of war, and by energetic military and naval operations to prove to our latent well-wishers that the cause which has their sympathies is also strong enough to encourage their hopes. It is evidently the mission of England, and of America too, if she would recognise it, to unfurl the standard of liberty, civil and religious, and to make common cause with that ennobling principle, latent or established, whether in Europe or throughout the universe. If we are heroic, that is to say, if we are courageous and righteous enough—if we have enough of virtue yet left in us to accept this divine appointment—the Almighty, in His mercy, will send His pillar of alternate cloud or fire before us ; and, “if God is with us, who shall be against us?”

Great warnings precede great events, and the Almighty never strikes suddenly, but still sends out His heralds and His prophets as of old, to furnish to mankind a leisure time of repentance ; and accordingly as nations use this opportunity so is the judgment. Earthquakes, blazing signs in the heavens, famines, vine disease, cholera and pestilence, wars, and the rumours of wars, and a gathering of nations, a seething locomotion and great augmentation of scientific knowledges have spoken to us ; the prophets are as great as Elisha, but the ears are the ears of Israel. The wise men of the day, whose reason (perverted) is their strong tower, will laugh this to scorn ; they cannot see that the world, like the sabbath, which was made for man, can also tremble for man ; but Lord Bacon, the British Solomon, could

see it, and when he saw it "pray for fair weather;" and the humble, too, can recognise the voices and "keep these sayings in" their "heart."

"The dangers of England are from without," says the brilliant Frenchman; but as Englishmen, and speaking with a more immediate knowledge of our own position, we think that England's danger is equally from within. Her physical danger is external, her moral danger internal. There is a total absence of legislative wisdom at home. In respect of Italy, we recommend freedom; in respect of Portugal, we tacitly permit tyranny. On the west coast of Africa we make a demonstration against slavery; on the eastern coast we fold our hands and abet it. In India we proclaim an empire; in the same breath we throw away Sarawak. There is an outcry against Russian leasehold occupation of Villa Franca; and we were about to withdraw from the Ionian Islands that Russia might hold them in fee simple. In the Crimean war we subsidized France and sent troops besides; and, by our money, helped our allies to overlap and injure our military prestige, though the feats of hardihood and of "antique valour" in that war, were performed again and again by Englishmen. What are the names left to history, Alma, Inkerman, and Balaklava. In the two latter the French had no share; in the first they know that we bore the brunt. Then, when it came to diplomacy, we were almost without weight; in the Paris Congress we neglected our Sardinian ally, and permitted—oh! shame to Clarendon—a despotic interference with the Belgian press; since which we have placed ourselves under the wing and protectorate of France, to lend our respectability to gambling schemes abroad, and to have the laws of our own land attempted by the foreign projection of the "Conspiracy Bill." The spirit of the people could endure no more, and burst out in an irrepressible thunder of fury; the prayer and

constant effort of every wise man in England should be that some worthy hand be found to forge and direct bolts that may befit this noble thunder, and that foreign people may count upon our consistency and co-operation, and no longer exclaim with De Maistre, "The cause we love is defended by the nation we do not love."

The vacillation and inconsistency of our foreign policy do in reality threaten us much more ominously than even the imminent dangers which press upon us externally. The infatuation of diplomacy has taken possession of the minds of all ranks and classes in the country; and all its intricate ways, its mysteries and its punctilios, are regarded as integral portions of the machinery of a great state. The absurdity of arbitration has been proposed, and the destinies of millions are committed to a sect of politicians, whose sole object throughout the transaction is to crook some dishonest advantage to the sovereign each severally represents. The potent state, whether plaintiff or defendant, can always put forth a higher claim than the weak, and therefore reaps in the cabinet, under the outward form of justice, all the advantages which could have been obtained by the arbitration of the sword, and avoids the reproach of bloodshed and oppression. The principle might have been philanthropic which originated the plan, but it has so far degenerated from such intention, that it may be called a device by which the powerful are now enabled to oppress the weak. Alliances, embassies, treaties, congresses, are the harvest fields of diplomacy; and nothing that has ever been done or ever will be done by these instruments, has contributed, or can contribute, to maintain peace longer than it suits the high contracting parties to maintain it. The infringement of a treaty furnishes a *casus belli*, if there is anybody to take up the gauntlet; but so, in much greater degree, would the infringement of any positive right,

if there were no treaty in existence. An infraction of the law of nations is a much better reason for going to war than the ruptured clause of a treaty. All history inculcates that with impunity treaties may be violated, but justice never, without some sort of retribution following upon the crime. Treaties and conventions are not worth the parchments they are endorsed upon ; they may be a snare to the weak and to the honest, but they are a jest to the powerful and unprincipled.

Diplomacy, the very basis of which is intrigue, may suit the doubling and perfidious policy of despotisms, whose dark plots are wrought in secrecy, and whose agents are bound by interest and by terror to keep impenetrable silence ; but it is altogether at variance with what should be the manly and uncompromising policy of a free state such as England. England ought to have a decisive and independent course of policy open to the world, from which, in its main principles, she will not deviate ; she entertains no crafty nor mean designs of lustful aggrandisement, though she should omit no lawful opportunity of military enterprise ; and, consequently, she cannot need the machinery of fraud ; in other words, diplomacy. Involved in this, may be discerned the reason why English diplomatists are almost always ridiculously situated at the close of any negotiation, which absurd figure presented by them is attributed to the superior astuteness of their opponents and to the natural insagacity of the Englishman. The fact is far otherwise ; the Englishman could carry out a design as well as any other man if he had a secret policy, towards which all his efforts might converge, such as that robber-spirit which directs, and has directed, since Peter's celebrated will, Russian diplomacy. But England has no traditional and crafty policy to carry out, so that an Englishman is without a purpose in a diplomatic circle ; he is like a pilot without a compass,

and steers his course no whither. Or, if he have occasionally a purpose, he is immediately involved in an inconsistency. His diplomatic operations are at an end if not kept secret; and then he is called to the bar of public opinion, and is obliged to publish a part of what he has done, say the one-half, so that his performance always appears one-eyed and ridiculous. If he have a purpose, he appears like an idiot, and if he have not, he is one, so far as diplomacy is concerned; and yet one of the substantial faiths of an Englishman is, that the mystery of diplomacy is an essential ingredient in the foreign policy of every great state. An Englishman cannot see that the principle of a despotism is not the same with the principle of a free state, and that where publicity is required, a contrivance for secrecy is utterly beside the mark, being both useless and unconstitutional.

The establishment of permanent embassies at foreign courts is another act of erroneous judgment on the part of England. Theoretically and practically, the institution is useless; but it furnishes place and patronage to the ministry at home, is assumed to be highly honourable, and will be very difficult to abolish. Montesquieu describes the function and nature of ambassadors, saying, "They are the word of the prince who sends them." The endeavour to give permanency to a word, and to pay it £10,000 to reside in Paris, shows that politicians are no less imaginative than the poet, whose office is "to give to airy nothing a local habitation and a name." Ambassador signifies messenger, and a resident messenger is something very like a solecism. The error committed has bred—as it is the nature of error to do—an evil. The foreign legations have called into being the meddlesome, crafty, and unstatesman-like class of diplomatists; they furnish them with constant employment, and are, in fact, the very colleges of diplomacy. They give men the requisite

education, and then they make the work that is to subsist them in after life; so much for the theory of embassy, as perverted from its original intention, by turning it from an occasional necessity into a permanent institution.

But it will be said that much information, valuable to the country, is collected by this means; there may be some foundation for this assertion, perhaps, but it falls to the ground if it can be shown that the substantial part of the information, that is to say, all which is not diplomatic, can be collected equally well by a machinery far less expensive—by only a slight addition to the staff of the present consular establishments. It will be well, in this place, to devote two or three words to show how little substantial information these vaunted embassies are accustomed to furnish to our Foreign Office. Supposing, with Adam Smith, that embassies resident at foreign courts in time of peace, are coincident with the growth of commerce, which began to extend itself in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and that their principal business, therefore, is commercial, which it certainly is not; yet a very important part of their duty is to collect military statistics, so that our army should be furnished with reliable military maps and plans, together with a mass of collected facts that might enable us to draw up military memoirs on every country in the world. This would serve as a basis of operations wherever a British army could be called upon to act. But this has not been done, and any military man, who has seen anything of foreign service, will admit that an absolute dearth of information is universally complained of by the British army. To prove this, we need only refer to the Peninsular war. The Quartermaster-General's department was so inefficient when Wellington took the command, that he may be said to have almost created it anew; and though we have had an ambassador in Russia for upwards of a century, our army

and also the French army knew so little of the state of the Crimea, and believed so implicitly in the strength of Sebastopol, that after the Alma they sat down before it, and waited until Todleben had made its fortifications as strong as the allies had imagined them to be. If an English soldier resides abroad for health, the benefit of his family, or from any other cause, he will find no encouragement from our ambassador if he furnish plans of the country, or of the fortifications in his neighbourhood, or memoirs of the disposition of the people, of the facilities of traffic, or the means of subsisting an army. The French are not so blind as this, especially with regard to England. The *Dépôt de la Guerre*, it is said upon good authority, occupies several hundred clerks in tracing maps and in classifying topographical information. The great estates of Spain were said to have been marked and parcelled out before the French invaded that country, and they are reputed to possess a better knowledge of England, for all military purposes, than our government itself—know its resources better, either for destruction or for use. We may perhaps think this account somewhat exaggerated, and very likely it is, because Buonaparte, after the evanescent peace of Amiens, appointed military men as his commercial agents in this country, which he would not have done had he been so amazingly well informed; but the spirit in which the French government acts might, in this respect, furnish a lesson in foresight to ours. A ludicrous case of the English military ignorance and unpreparedness is mentioned by Major General Pasley in his essay on the military institutions of Great Britain. When he himself was going out in the expedition of Lord Chatham to Walcheren, he went to his London bookseller to purchase some maps for the occasion; the person in the shop said he was sure that the expedition must be going against Antwerp, “because the officers of the army and navy had suddenly bought up almost all

his charts of the mouth of the Scheldt," so that the private endeavours of our officers to obtain information, are sufficient to discover our most secret movements and intentions. If the embassies neglect so important a topic as military subjects present, may we not ask with justice what subjects are thought of such moment, as to be worthy to engage the notice and attention of their excellencies our ambassadors resident at foreign courts. Some interesting question of diplomacy, perhaps how a fleet may be sent on a cruise through the North-West Passage and round Cape Horn, that it may be out of the way, and so escape the inconveniences of assisting a weak ally, when a powerful one, bent on bullying, wants to have the coast clear. Embassies, then, do not collect information upon some most vital topics; they perform no function that might not be better discharged by consular authorities in commercial disputes, or by embassies extraordinary in political disputes, they create and foster the unmanly and un-English diplomatic craft, and they are kept up at immense expense to the country at large.

The pusillanimity of England's foreign policy is attributable to a variety of causes; embassies and diplomacy tend to augment her timidity, but are very far from constituting the original and prime cause of it. For the chief cause we must go back to the constituent elements of her legislative body; but there is one very important point, which it may be well to mention here, which has a strong tendency to augment this national characteristic of vacillation—the practice of subsidizing foreign powers. It is scarcely necessary to furnish an historical illustration, because it is our constant practice; on the declaration of war we are eager to contract alliances with any state, strong or weak, and are willing to pay their armies to fight their own battles. In the progress of every war we have occasion, almost without exception, to experience the

extravagance and inutility of the system ; we pay, and our subsidized allies desert us, without the least show of compunction, as soon as the turn of events makes it their interest to do so ; and with a shameless effrontery they again open relations with us when it suits them—sure of finding us eager to receive them, and to overlook and pardon their previous infidelity. The case of subsidies stands thus, as to the position in which it places us with respect to our allies. It is not to be supposed that any subsidy that we can give to such a country as Prussia can, of itself, make it worth their while to carry on a war against our enemy ; if, therefore, they undertake a war at all, they do so for their own interest, and would do so for their own political ends whether we contributed or not. If they succeed they gain our money, their own end, and all the glory ; and they only recognise in us an opulent nation of unmilitary and pusillanimous character, useful to be fleeced amicably now, and to be pillaged by invasion hereafter ; if they fail we lose stock and block, our money and our defence as well, and are all the more open to the hostile operations of our victorious enemy. But if, instead of subsidizing, say, 50,000 mercenaries (who are all the while fighting their own battles, not ours), we had contributed 50,000 British soldiers, how different would have been the case then ! In success we should have shared in the spoils of war, and in the respect which success wins from all spectators—British arms would have become a terror, and in the future this salutary terror would have proved a great begetter of peace. In the event of failure we should have an army of soldierly veterans to return to our shores, and set the invader at defiance. We should have procured that rarity—a British army that had learned the art of war in the efficient school of experience. A practical objection to the system of subsidy, which is well known to everybody who has watched it, though it is constantly put out of sight and for-

gotten, is this—that it is a clumsy way of disposing of an enormous sum of money. To furnish the pay of 70,000 troops amounts to the revenue of a second rate state, and is always capable of being cheaply countermined by the enemy—who, in place of subsidizing armies, corrupts a general, a minister, or a mistress, and so annuls by one bribe the expensive instrument we have been at such pains to construct. Pasley, from whom the substance of the foregoing has been chiefly extracted, puts the case very well; he says it would be impolitic in us to furnish the Americans with money to build and maintain a great fleet, on condition that they should side against France; and it must consequently be equally impolitic for us to do the same thing on land. If what has now been said is not sufficient to show the folly of subsidizing, I am afraid that nothing I can add will be thought of any value. For, if the systems of political economy that are now in vogue are founded on correct principles, we shall, doubtless, be brought to consider that the commercial character of England does rightly predominate over, and suppress her military character. Then, of course, it follows that it is a wise thing to purchase foreign swords to do soldier's work for us.

For my part, I despise those so-called politicians, who, with Adam Smith, will tell you that the chief advantage to be derived from war is the amusement it furnishes to the people, as they read the exploits of their troops in the Gazette. Even as a matter of money, it is bad economy to pay others for doing what you can do yourself; it is bad economy to trust others to do that for you which, at any moment, their interest may tempt them to neglect, and which negligence of theirs you have deprived yourself of the power to punish; and lastly, it is bad economy to attempt to buy multitudes, but to buy nations is altogether an infatuation. They will fight for you whilst it suits them, but that they will do whether you pay them or

not. Keep your money, then, and train your men; and when you are involved in a foreign war, supply your quota of troops; take your fair share of the glory and of the spoil; and if Bellona frown upon you, and you lose the object of your enterprise, you can withdraw your troops to your own shores, and, with your army of veteran soldiers, defy the vain fury of your enemies. King Solomon writes that there is a time for peace, and a time for war; and assuredly the slower a nation is to accept the latter, the more swiftly will it bring it on. Aggressive war partakes much of the nature of a bully, and is slow to advance against a bold front. The Crimean war may be regarded as a legacy bequeathed to the country by those politicians who have advocated the doctrines of peace. It is true policy to do nothing boastfully, and nothing should be so heartily repudiated by an Englishman, as the insulting and gasconading language of a Palmerstonian War Office. Boast not at all; but never let an honest occasion for hard fighting slip out of your hands; let it be once known that you are able and determined to fight when just need requires, and every nation will look twice before it affords you the opportunity. Pacificators should be held in abomination; they cry peace when there is no peace, whilst they are drawing on war with a cart rope. Neither Christianity, money, nor cowardice can purchase peace for nations: the sword alone, kept sharp upon the whetstone of practice, is the sole procurer of peace. Be sure, a Roman cannot err in a matter of warlike policy; and Valerius Maximus has said that "the guardianship of peace consists in the knowledge of war." The politic Venetians inscribed upon their arsenal "Happy the state which in times of peace provides for war," and I might cite numberless examples from the elder politicians, to whose judgment in such matters I would certainly give the palm of sound philosophy and empire principles over every sect of the more modern schools, but will

content myself with the words of a great Englishman—a soldier-spirit and a philosopher, James Harrington. He says, “I do not offer you a nerve of war that is made of purse strings, such a one as has drawn the face of the earth into convulsions, but such as is natural to her health and beauty;” namely, the ancient prudence of a sound and martial policy, whereby England shall come to reckon strength by the metal of her men, and not by the metal of her money, which is but a circulating currency—a sign of wealth, not wealth—conventionally made marketable by the impress of the king’s effigy. Men with the red elixir of life in their veins; no royal figment of mint-work,—no idle circlets of a golden physiognomy, but living men—creatures instinct with spirit, emulous of noble deeds, and stamped with the image of their Maker; these are the wealth of nations; these are the sovereigns that must rule the world.

CHAPTER II.

PEASANTRY, FREEHOLDS, YEOMANRY.

"He that takes this course, plants trees under the shade of which he may enjoy himself with as great pleasure as we do here, and possibly with more security."

Machiavelli, ART OF WAR, book 1.

IF, then, a sturdy race of men be the true wealth of nations, and their strong arms the real sinews of war, it is certainly the part of a wise legislator, in his domestic policy, to seek by all means lying in his power to cultivate and train up such a race. If this cannot be accomplished except at the sacrifice of some national wealth, it is a point of policy to make this sacrifice, for, as safety is indubitably preferable to great riches with insecurity, so it is better to forego a little rather than lose all. It is doubtful whether by this method wealth be really lost, but if it be, so be it. Clearly a great nation may have too many people, if they be not of the right sort; and, as a rule, every man incapable of serving as a soldier is so much lumber in a state, so far as its strength is concerned. The fighting power of a country is that which decides its position in the scale of nations, and not its wealth, or its population; take Antwerp and Holland for the one, and China for the other illustration. Gold invites the miner; and for the population, it is an old saying, that the wolf cares nothing how

many the sheep be, and never stops to count them. Christian nations are wolves one to the other, and the Gospel is banished from the cabinets and courts of kings. The devil, as we learn from the temptation in the wilderness, holds in his gift the power of the thrones of the earth, and the glory of them. He, then, that breeds a strong people, few in number, vigorous in frame, frugal in habit, free of speech, apt for war, does most noble service to the fluctuating cause of poor humanity ; and in the founding a free people upon God's earth, deals, in one stroke, a heavy blow at tyranny, which is the power of the earth, and at the devil, which is the power of the air. It is a divine work, then, to make a nation of sound men—a work not easily to be done, but easily to be undone ; and what has England been about these many days ?

She has gradually crushed out her peasantry ; she has gradually crushed out her freeholders ; she has gradually crushed out her yeomanry ; with them she has blighted her best hopes ; she has pandered and is pandering to the towns, because they talk and vociferate, but she has forgotten the country, which alone grows true men, because it is silent. Ye stones of the silent valleys, ye trees of the rising uplands, ye fresh winds blowing health over broad fallows, speak, in words not to be misconstrued, of the men who, under your influence, and in your presence, learn the heroism of toil ! Speak ! oh speak ! if they are silent, speak your knowledge of them. The countrymen sprung of the soil, they are the Titans—they have courage—they will fight ; but the townsmen have neither the power nor the will to do so.

To begin with the peasantry ; let us take a few facts from an able article entitled "Life in Arcadia," which appeared in "*Meliora*" of October last. The decay of the peasant proprietors of the soil, is clearly shown by uncooked statistics, which are a rarity now-a-days, as witness Ricardo's "History (save the term !)

of the Navigation Laws ;" and the utterances of these untutored figures, are made the subject of a worthy lament by the writer. He has not thought it necessary with the Scotch economists, who—heavy lie the charge upon their souls of heartless reason!—have mainly brought about this state of things, to sing with joy because two blades of grass now grow where there was only one before, seeing,—which an economist cannot see,—that to get fodder you may kill men, and weed out rational beings that you may raise irrational. Oh, the demented crop! Woe to the devastating cultivator! "A most difficult political problem," he says, "is here suggested; *we cannot solve it.*" But there is no rejoicing, that he cannot solve it. No Bacchanalian shout nor sceptical sardonic sneer, nor curling lip of contemptuous pity for inferior knowledge, such as we meet with in the insulting advocates of error, accompanies these words ; but a sad regret to find this so-difficult knot of policy to untie, and a commending of it, as it were, with a God speed you, to students of more leisure or luckier suggestion.

Cottage accommodation has lately obtained some share of attention, but as yet with very small results. It has been ascertained that no cottage should be built with less than three bedrooms, except for childless and aged couples. Many of the present habitations have but two rooms in all: the lower room which is the day room, and the upper which is the night room, in which parents, children, and often sundry lodgers, regardless of sex, herd together to sleep. The land-owners have year by year been decreasing in number, and those who continue to own the land have consequently increased their territory, in proportion as the ground is shared by fewer. This has increased the disparity of fortunes, and we now find a few great and rich, and a multitude of abject poor. Neither have these rich land-masters thought at all about their retainers; few and wretched as were the dwellings of

the poor at the commencement of this century, they have pulled many down, and have built few up. The process of destruction has been continuous. About Norwich we are told that many estates have been entirely cleared of tenantry, and no land could be obtained for building purposes within eight or ten miles of that city. 500 agricultural labourers had to walk to their work some three and some seven miles. In Buckinghamshire, out of five villages between 1801 and 1831, the families had increased by 129, but the dwellings to accommodate these families had been diminished by 41. In Suffolk the same thing took place, the families in seven villages were increased by 248, whilst 124 residences had been removed. In five villages of Sussex the increase was 62, whilst the residences had decreased by 59.

Compare the wisdom of Elizabeth with the conduct of the present day. It was enacted in the 7th and 31st of her reign that every cottage should have four acres attached to it; and all dwellings not so provided went by the name of "silly cottages." As far back as the year 1795, the Rev. David Davies drew attention to the impolicy of depriving the labouring people of all hope of possessing a property in the soil; "once establish such a feeling" he says, "and it must be the extinction of every generous principle in their minds." He lays down three rules to be observed:—1st. Let the cottager have a little land about his dwelling for keeping a cow, growing potatoes, flax, or hemp. 2nd. Convert the waste lands into small arable farms, a certain quantity every year to be let to industrious families. 3rd. Restrain the over-enlargement of farms. There is not much to be added to this, though sixty-four years have since elapsed, for these remarks strike at the root of the evil.

But it has grown worse, and not better, in the interval, as we have shown above, by the destruction of cottage property, and the increase of the population requiring

cottage accommodation. Huddled in one small room, most indecently, may be found father and mother, boys and girls, young men and maidens, and strange lodgers of both sexes passing the night together in our rural districts. What, may I ask, can preserve young minds, or indeed any minds, in purity and cleanliness? What can keep contamination from infecting body and soul in the midst of such gross, such bestial, such indelicate exposure? The teaching of school's dull lessons, learned against the will, is a sorry antidote, indeed, to the poisonous infection of the sights that meet the eye of the fair girl in her cottage home so surely as the great lamp of day begins to dip his beams below the western wave. Can any daylight preaching of purity countervail the nightly example of sin and naked grossness? Ye hapless poor! we, the more fortunate, can scarcely keep our itching and prurient imaginations from the wild working of abomination, with every appliance of prayer, of education, of separation, of clothing to assist us; and how shall ye maintain the fight of chastity? Though heroines here and there may rise angel-proof to shame us, most certainly myriads upon myriads nightly fall into the abyss of ruin, and would still fall, were this to continue so, though Paul of Tarsus came to preach a special gospel to them. If this be permitted to go on, we may soon expect our hearths and homes to perish; we may bid adieu at once and for ever to the health, the modesty, the bashful loveliness of youth; to the holy mystery that unites the sexes by an indissoluble tie in the divine ordinance and celestial symbol of marriage; to the reverential worship a true man offers to his helpmeet, and to the winnowed purity of love which she requites in womanly-wise into his bosom. If we corrupt the rural hearths, whence shall our feculent towns get health and recruitment? The country is the great fountain of human health and strength. Let a nation poison that supply at the

fountain head, and its whole population will soon become an irredeemable mass of deformity, vice, and corruption. This is no dream, no air-drawn picture, but a sober, awaking reality. We need not go to Mr. Kay and the statist; we need not refer to Poor Law Reports, or agricultural societies : we may read the facts very legibly inscribed in the faces and rickety limbs of the boys and girls under fifteen that we meet in a rural walk ; precocious, premature looking children, such as fifty years ago could be seen nowhere but in overstocked towns. They may be seen in many a country district now. Reader, go and look at them ; do not set the ruddy ones as a makeweight against them. Such faded things ought never to germinate in the fresh soil that produces such vivid growths as the rath spring flowers in the hedge-rows ; and where you see them, admit that there is something very wrong, and try if deficient cottage accommodation be not one cause almost sufficient to account for it.

The large farm system, so much extolled by the political economists, next demands attention ; for it is the destruction of the small farms that has driven the lesser farmers into the rank of day labourers, and has overstocked and impoverished the peasantry. But, before I enter upon this, I must say a word or two upon the law of primogeniture. A recognition of birthright has prevailed in almost all ages. But amongst the Jews, Greeks, and Romans nothing approaching the feudal law of primogeniture is to be met with. Amongst the Tartars the youngest male child inherited. Père du Halde attributes this to the elder having quitted home to lead a pastoral life, taking with them on setting out their share of the cattle, so that the youngest had a right to what remained. The gavelkind in Kent seems to be an ancient relic of some such pastoral law. Halhed, in his "Code of Gentoo Laws,"* describes them as ascer-

* Cited in Burder's "Oriental Customs," No. 1086.

taining the rights of inheritance with the utmost precision. A man is regarded as a tenant for life in his own property, and is not allowed to dispossess his children for the benefit of aliens, nor to show partiality to a favourite child. A considerable, but not an unlimited control is given to a father over the property which he has himself acquired; but any glebe inherited from his father must be divided amongst the children equally. In Rome the father had an absolute right to dispose of his property as he pleased. This we may safely infer from the laws of the twelve tables, though in the fifth table, which relates to inheritances, it is not expressly so stated; yet in the fourth table, which defines the rights of fathers of families, a power of life and death over his children is granted to the father, and also to sell them into slavery. So absolute an authority in the parent would be utterly incompatible with any modern notions associated with "*rights of birth*;" and a father might disinherit one or all of his own children,* and appoint whom he would to be his heirs. It was one of the laws of Venice that there should be no birthright amongst the nobility, lest the cadet branches, roused to jealousy, should become enemies to the state; an account of which singular enactment may be found in Amelot de la Houssaie's "*History of the Government of Venice*," and which Montesquieu notices as a practice conformable to the spirit of an aristocracy. I doubt the soundness of this opinion, but of the fact there can be no question.

The Jewish custom, however, requires more particular attention, for it is a prejudice to which good people are necessarily subject to hunt the Bible through for an answer to questions bearing upon the whole circle of the sciences. From geology to polity, everything is to be referred to Scripture for settlement, forgetting that Scripture is a text-book and manual of theologi-

* See Adam's "*Roman Antiquities*," on Inheritance, p. 57.

cal knowledge for the practical conduct of individual life, and not to be applied recklessly to the whole body of science and learning, nor to the regulation of the temporal affairs of kingdoms and empires. But the Jewish custom in the matter of primogeniture is very interesting and very important. It was evidently a part of the theocratic dispensation to bestow honour upon the first-born, as a type continuously shadowing forth in a prophetic manner the advent of our holy Redeemer; therefore, the first-born, whether of man or beast, was peculiarly set apart to the service of God. Now, here is a point very worthy of remark: the preference given to the first-born was a divine hieroglyph or sacred symbol; it was a direct injunction of the Mosaical law overriding the law of nature. But, even when this supernatural sanction was in full force of operation, the law of primogeniture was never carried to that rigorous extreme which it reached under the feudal system, and at which it now stands in this country. For you may see from Deuteronomy xxi. 17, that the lot of the first-born was "a double portion" only. It is not a little singular that in England an analogous custom prevailed, by an admixture of the Saxon and feudal or Norman law. By the Saxon, the property was shared equally to all; by the Norman, the eldest son had the whole; but in the time of Henry the First, the principal estate only, "*primum patris feudum*" devolved on the eldest, and the rest was equally divided.* Originally, amongst the feudists themselves, the lands were divided equally; but when fiefs became hereditary by the usurpation of Hugh Capet, who made the crown, which was the grand fief, hereditary, then birthright became a necessary enactment to establish the order of succession. Entails, privilege of nobility, birth, and hereditary rank, are all of them bound together, interlinked, and intertwined. They are all absurd and essentially unjust, for merit,

* "*Blackstone*," book iv. p. 414.

and not accident, gives a title to honour, and honour to a title; and as absurdity and injustice invariably must do, they create both misery and dissatisfaction. Adam Smith says of entails—and who that has thought upon them will disagree with him?—that they tend to support family pride and family distinctions. But that “in every other respect nothing can be more contrary to the real interest of a numerous family,” than to enrich one and beggar all the rest of the children.

I have no space to enlarge upon the arguments in support of this right. Blackstone, with his true nose pointing to where interest lies, is amongst its supporters; he says it has been found more convenient than the parcelling of estates into a multitude of minute subdivisions. One is at a loss to know how it had ever, in his day, been “found more convenient,” for then it had never been tried. Next, he writes that when the emperors created honorary feuds or titles of nobility, it was impossible to divide them and preserve their dignity otherwise. In other words, they decreed an absurdity; and, finding that it must soon die out of itself if it were not bolstered up by some state trick of policy, they hesitated not to decree a flagrant injustice in order to perpetuate it. The next reason is, the military services required under the feudal tenure; but what sort of a reason is this, now that the feudal tenure is done away? And the last reason is, that the younger sons might be induced to indulge in the idleness of a country life, instead of engaging in commerce, or following some honourable profession. There is a colourable pretext, perhaps, in this last argument; but then, would it not be well to preserve the eldest equally from idleness of a country life, in order to compel him to a life of usefulness? No doubt the regulation has frequently operated beneficially upon many of the junior branches of families, but there was never yet an act of injustice perpetrated but it wrought unlooked-for good in some

quarter or other ; never a mistake in science made but that some sort of useful experience was derived from it. Many a man who has impaired his means by gambling has, by the shock of poverty, turned from his evil practices. But is gambling thereby made a virtue ? Who should dare to deny it, if we took the other ground and said that thousands of younger sons, badly nurtured, had become blacklegs and shoolers, abject hangers-on of rich men, poor-spirited mendicants for a rich wife, and a hall peg where they may hang their hat up, by the operation of this self-same precious law of primogeniture ? According to the passage cited by Burke, in his appeal from the new to the old Whigs, " By the aristocratical law of primogeniture-ship, in a family of six, five are exposed." Burke, I know, supports the law, but he ventures on no reason for so doing ; and if he has elsewhere assigned any make-shift reason, yet he has Aristotle against him (as well as the five disinherited ones), who says in his *Politics*, " For when you have a multitude of poor in the state, infallibly you have a state full of enemies to the commonweal." Can Burke's authority make it wise to manufacture paupers to beget content ? Why, I ask, should twenty starve that one may " grow collops " on his brawny flank ? It is contrary to reason and contrary to justice, to perpetuate this law, and the law of entail.

Yet are there two things to be considered by one who would do nothing hastily, and I frankly confess myself to be one of this commonly despised sort in politics. I would rather stand and do nothing, than go to work and do wrong. The evil of routine is calculable, but the evil of changing for the worse is not to be reckoned. There are two things to be considered : first, that thousands possessed of property in this country are of opinion that these unreasonable laws are the mainstay of society ; I would not fly in their face by rendering existing entails illegal, but for the future no property should be allowed to be

entailed; the system would die out of itself, and yearly, as one entail and then another was cut off, would become less and less objectionable. Parents should still be left to devise property as seemed best to them. In cases of intestacy, real and personal property should be equally divided; but as an encouragement to more equal division in other cases, a double legacy duty should be charged when more than half of the whole property was left to the eldest son, where the family consisted of more than two children. The second point to be considered, and the more important one, perhaps, would be to prevent the too minute subdivision of land; an infinite subdivision becomes ridiculous, and defeats its own end, therefore some limit to this process of subdivision must be fixed; let it be such an amount of land as may be sufficient to subsist a yeoman well, and enable him to bring up his family roughly but satisfactorily, in all frugality, and proper comfort, and decency. I think that twenty acres might be found a good limit, for reasons which will appear more clearly further on. Where an estate is divided so that its parts have in this manner reached the lowest standard, then it would be well that the principle of primogeniture should be allowed to re-appear. For, injustice at this point ceases to be injustice, and the principle, as every true principle must do, becomes directly based upon common sense, and the absolute necessity of the case. The standard is to be a plot of ground sufficient to support and nourish a sturdy family, and to descend below this in a theoretical thirst of equity is as ridiculous as to weigh sugar by a hair balance, to cut carrots with a razor, or to indulge in any other piece of superfluous nicety; to go below such standard would be to destroy five families and not save one. That land for any practical purpose is not infinitely divisible, is no reason why an estate of 10,000 acres should not be broken up to support two hundred families in competency

instead of one family in wasteful affluence, which leads sooner or later to idleness and vice. Let all be done gradually ; first, by discouraging primogeniture in overgrown estates ; and by, again, encouraging it when the subdivision has attained its lowest advantageous standard. If this project is revolutionary, or directed perniciously against any honest interest, let it be rejected, but let those who oppose the endeavour of men whose sole aim is to enable England to nurture the largest possible amount of *healthy and stalwart* manhood, beware lest they themselves become "turbulent innovators" by doing nothing. If by overcrowding peasant habitations, by driving the country population into the hotbed of cities, by augmenting the power of large landowners, and by diminishing the number of the good yeomanry, they succeed in lessening the crop of true men, let them rest assured that the town and country will return them a yield of true devils, such as the world has not yet seen ; creatures that will clamour—not for justice, for that will then come too late, but—for a sanguinary and lawless glut of hatred, and for a passionate and unreasoning revenge.

The Agrarian law will very likely be cited as an historical reproof of this endeavour to break in upon the privilege of the wealthy. The working of that law is a much misunderstood matter. But it should be recollected that Licinius Crassus was holding the consular dignity when he introduced it, and it is most unlikely that a patrician occupying so elevated a position should have adopted the popular cause against his own class, unless it had an overwhelming weight of justice on its side. The principle sought to be embodied was just, namely, that the Plebeians had fought the battles, and had a right to a share of the lands so obtained. If all the acutest writers of Christendom combined to vilify this law, I do not know what plain man in his sober wits would venture

to agree with them. I am not bound to justify the methods employed by the Plebeians to accomplish this just end; perhaps they were like the methods of the opposing Patricians in the time of Icilius, who seized the Comitium, and by blows prevented the Plebeians from assembling in their tribes,—that is, the worst possible. This is immaterial; the plea was just, and, had the Patricians been honest, the dispute could never have arisen. Some of the best writers, Montesquieu and others, have committed a grave error in respect of this ordinance; 500 acres was the limit to the possessions of one proprietor, and they have spoken as though this restriction was of universal application to all landed property; it was not so, it only referred to public lands, and had no reference whatever to private property. As the Agrarian law, therefore, could only apply to our colonies, if at all to us; and, in any case, was just in principle, it will not prove a very alarming stigma if any of the foregoing or following suggestions should be branded by some persons as the seditious requisitions of the Gracchi.

Cobbett says, in his letter to Coke, that one of the effects of paper money is to draw property into great masses. Paper money is Cobbett's bugbear, and there is no need of taking it by the ears on this occasion, though, doubtless, a sound system of paper money has its merits, in spite of Cobbett's opposition, and Sir Archibald Alison's incongruous advocacy.* But Cobbett goes on to say, in his common sense manner, that another effect "is to lessen the number of occupiers

* See his prolix speech on "Currency Reform," at Glasgow, in March last, in which he exposes his intention to plagiarise the system of another man, and his incapacity to master the principle on which it is based. Sir Archibald is a man of facts, and had better leave principles to other people. It is a judgment on those who suck other men's brains, to take, like an inexperienced thief, the glittering casket and leave behind the jewel.

of land, and this effect it has produced in England to an extent of about three-fourths ; that is to say, where there were, about fifty years ago, four farms, there is now only one."

Again : he says—

"Suppose peasant farmers to be in number 100,000, what compensation can their skill and improvement give the nation for the breaking up of 300,000 small farms, and reducing the holders to the state of paupers ?"

I must quote another paragraph from this rough but glorious specimen of English home growth ; it is pregnant with practical shrewdness and plain perception :—

"If you take ten farms of 100 acres each, and allot to them a given number, say fifty labourers, and a given number of horses, say fifty of them also, the land will (with equal care, skill, and industry in the farmers) certainly produce less marketable food than if it were all in one farm having employed upon it fifty men and fifty horses ; for, leaving capital out of the question, *great strength* can in the latter case be brought to bear upon *any particular point at any time*, as, in the case of an army, ten fives embodied into fifty have more than ten times the force of any one of the separate fives. And this is the view which the Scotch economists have taken of the matter. They have never cared a straw about anything but the "head manufacturer of corn" (as they call him) and his gains, his quantities brought to market."

But he goes on to say that on the ten farms are ten wives, and, perhaps, forty children, all busy about domestic concerns, all learning industry and work ; giving attention to poultry, eggs, bees, seeds, fruit, herbs, &c. ; and we should find that even the quantity of human food produced was in the total not far short of the one monster farm ; and over and above, let us take into account "the amount of good living, and the *morals of the ten farm system*." Blessed be the memory of William Cobbett, for that sober discovery and manly statement of it, in the teeth of the Scotch would-be wisdomites ! Blessed be the name of William Cobbett, a true Englishman, though he did class Milton and Shakspeare with pota-

toes,* and described the peerless two—*sceleratum et nefandum facinus!*—as “writers of bombast, and far-fetched conceits, and miserable puns.”

However, we have a better guide on this subject than the home-made philosophies of the Botley farmer, though great applause is due to that man's energy. I mean the immortal Bacon. In his *History of Henry the Seventh*, he says that enclosures, in that reign, were becoming very common, so that arable land, which could not be tilled without people and families, was converted into pasture, that a few herdsmen could easily manage; and the tenancies which had subsisted much of the yeomanry were turned into demesnes. Following upon this came a decay of people, towns, churches, and a falling off of tithes; and the king, who was a man to pierce through a nether millstone, “knew full well, and in nowise forgot,” that the decay would show next in the diminution of his subsidies and taxes, for, without statistics, it was well enough ascertained then, and potently believed,—which, since the age of statistics, nothing is,—that “the more gentlemen, ever the lower books of subsidies.” I must continue to paraphrase this remarkable passage, lest, if I give you the *ipsissima verba*, you should turn to the book itself of this master mind, and never think of coming back again to mine, which—though I could not blame you, oh, most candid reader!—I should much regret, as I have still two or three things to say that are worth hearing, and urgent for the matter of them, how sorry soever for the manner. The remedy of this evil admirably indicates the wisdom of the King and Parliament. They would not forbid enclosures, lest they should seem to forbid the acquisition of property; neither would they directly interfere to compel culti-

* *Political Register*, vi. 391.

vation ; but they took an indirect method, avoiding express prohibition, and the statute ran thus : " That all houses of husbandry that were used with 20 acres of ground and upwards, should be maintained and kept up for ever, together with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied with them ; under penalty of seizure by the king and lords of the fee, to the extent of one half of the profits, till the houses and lands were restored." By this means, the houses being kept up, did of necessity enforce a dweller ; and the proportion of land for occupation being kept up, did of necessity enforce that dweller not to be a beggar or cottager, but a man of some substance, that might keep hinds and servants, and set the plough a-going. "*This did wonderfully concern the might and mannerhood of the kingdom, to have farms, as it were, of a standard sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury, and did in effect amortise a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasants.*" He says that the king foresaw the consequence of this Act—that it would breed a people consisting neither of nobility nor yet mere cottagers, " which are but housed beggars ;" but of a middle sort, full of independence, living frugally and yet in competency, and very apt indeed for war. This aptest of prose writers closes his remarks with an illustration scarcely less fine than that of Milton's in the "*Areopagitica*," and to which it certainly furnished the hint. " Thus," says Sir Francis, " thus did the king secretly sow hydra's teeth ; whereupon, according to the poet's fiction, should rise up armed men for the service of this kingdom." Would that the revival of this piece of ancient wisdom might sow a few dragon's teeth for the protection of this poor realm of England, which, if something be not done very speedily to rear a home-growth of armed men, the oldest of us may

live long enough to witness a most unwelcome importation of them from abroad, and the golden Dagon of our economists will fall down at their feet, shattered into a mass of shapeless and dislocated fragments. The comment of history on our age and country will be, "Behold, in England, the judgment of idolatry of gold, and the belief that in the yellow metal are the sinews of war."

The theory is old—it is no innovation; and if it were so and were not unreasonable, the novelty would not make much against it. We have in England too many who are dangerously wealthy; too many dangerously poor. The obvious course is to diminish both, by gently establishing estates of moderate dimensions, which will increase of course the number of freeholders—a class of men quite above want and consequent servility, but not exempt from hard work and industry; which is the secret—better than all the alembical tricks of the alchemist—to make a nation strong and healthy, religious and free, rich and high-couraged.

That there is need of this, we learn from the statist, who tells us, that "in the year 1770 there were in England alone 250,000 freehold estates in the hands of 250,000 different families; at the close of the war in 1815, that land was concentrated in the hands of only 32,000 proprietors." This is a terrific fact; surely, nothing that has been said is too strong in reprobation of this state of things. No cry for a change can be too loud or piercing. If the trumpet brays such discordant music, will it not seem harmony itself, compared to the collision of that fierce intestine struggle coming on—that angry clash of civil strife—when jarring weapons deal clattering death around, and every shriek that rises to heaven's welkin speaks the last agonies of a dying brother. Far be this fate of foreign levy or intestine war from our blessed island, when a little foresight might keep it

in its frame still as of yore, "a precious stone set in the silver sea."

We *have lost and must reconstruct* our sturdy old English yeomanry ; this is only to be done by a reasonable division of the lands of the kingdom, and by entirely reversing the monopoly which now prevails ; by so doing, we shall act in the true spirit of the common law, the *lex non scripta*, the only true law, and it is a maxim that the common law abhors perpetuities. England must fall, or in the noble language of Lord Verulam, the British Plato, she must make haste to bow "the ancient policy of this estate from consideration of plenty to consideration of power." If you can produce a barnful more corn from one large farm than from two small of equal area, you are infinitely a loser when you compare that granary with the bone and muscle, intelligence, and activity of the second family which has been nurtured on the two small farms. For children are an heritage of the Lord ; they are as arrows in the hand of a giant. Happy is the country that hath its quiver full of them, it shall subdue its enemies in the gate ; and as for the citadel, they shall not come nigh it.

CHAPTER III.

EDUCATION.

¹ "Res quidem efficax est natura, sed potentior est institutio, quæ malam naturam corrigit et vertit in bonam. Quales nascentur liberi nulli in manu est, at ut rectâ institutione evadant boni, nostræ potestatis est."

Lycurgus, in Erasmus's Apophthegms.

OF all problems requiring solution, the least soluble is education ; yet the necessity for an answer is imperious. For the lack of it millions perish ; the riddling monster swallows us by myriads, and though the king's daughter and a throne in reversion is offered, we get no Œdipus to help us. We have a million would-be Œdipuses, each with his own full and sufficient answer ; each throwing reams of printed matter, parliamentary, scholastic, and statistical, into the maw of the insatiable Sphinx ; but when innumerable interpreters of dark sayings have stuffed the said enigmatical beast with blue books, and generously thrown in their own petty carcass into the bargain ; the omnivorous creature licks its lips, and swallows down the whole mass, as a cobra would a rabbit, and is ready for the next theorist, and more Parliamentary returns. It is plain, education asks for a system—a plan of general adoption ; and as every theorist stickles for every iota and tittle of his own wonderful extract of wisdom, and will adopt or permit to be adopted no jot nor tittle of any other

man's extract of wisdom, England comes to be furnished with as many systems as the census shows adult heads,—a surplusage of systems thereby rendering education impossible—as impossible as squaring the circle, finding the longitude, or any other curdle-brain posset that has addled geometers since Archimedes; worse to statesmen than to rustics is metheglyn at fair-time. The great proposition then, remaining to the raveller of occult hints is how to get rid of the plural sign, and so help us, and all England, to talk for the future about system, in place of systems; to bring us back to the one idea; to Christianize our philosophy; to set up law and do away with legislation; to establish unity and destroy polytheistic idolatries—those myriad images which men worship in their cincture of dark groves, notable only for opaqueness and owl-tenantry. This is the business of the raveller of occult hints now; and perhaps it always has been. The world was, and is, an idolatrous image lover, and every great and wise man is and has been, in some sort, an iconoclast.

The most manifest and transparent error of modern educationists is, that all men have a capacity to receive instruction, and consequently that learning is the business of childhood. Now, if any sweeping and general assertion may be permitted to pass for a truth, it is that man is not capable of becoming profitably learned; this is far nearer to the truth than the belief of the present day that all men have a capacity for learning. But all are capable of education. The first fallacy to be removed from the public mind is that which supposes education to mean cultivation of intellect. Of course when this is made apparent everybody will say that he knew it before; but if he does so, inquire of him why, in the drawing-room, he mentions Mr. So-and-So as being "highly educated." Does he mean that he is manly, religious, of earnest character, or of great mental sagacity? Nothing of the

kind! He means to designate University exercitation and the conversation and manners of *ton*; to the making of which eligible compound there goes at least as much vanity as wisdom, as many idle whimsies as true points. Secondly, if this is a trite truth and we knew it before, why have we never raised a warning voice against the absurdities perpetrated in the face of it, in every infant and parochial school, and every public school, except some ancient foundation, throughout the kingdom. Surely, any one has a right to presume you ignorant of a truth which you gainsay by your conversation, and which you deny by your acts.

Man is a tripartite being, *τριμερής υπόστασις*, consisting of body, animal soul, and spirit. Of this triplet and its enlinking we know nothing, but let the materialists,—whose scepticism pretends to more knowledge than we do,—deny it or not, we will enter into no metaphysical niceties to establish it. It is a theory far older than its opposite, if that is any good to it; but the Papists by their handling have made a dirty and a dog's-eared thing of the otherwise venerable book of antiquity. Blots, thumbing, old songs, comments, interlinings, erasures, ugly saints' sketches, and schoolmasters in pen and ink have reduced records of the far past to the condition of the old Latin grammar that every scholar keeps in some niche of his library, a memento of school agonies and dulcet day-dreamings. It is a theory connected with better names than its opposite—from Pythagoras and Plato and "the old time before that," to the press issue of yesterday, with its Kant and Coleridge, if they are any good to it. But authority like antiquity has been brought to the crucial test of martyrdom by that same King of Babylon who burnt, burns, and will burn, Meshachs and Abednegos by thousands, pretending to establish it. It is a theory more cheerful to the heart, and more provocative of virtue, and there is some good in these things, daily welling up in gladness within the body's

tabernacle, and growing out in beautiful acts, pictures, and exemplars for all men to follow. Lastly, and which might have been firstly, as Alpha means Omega, the *litera scripta* of the King of kings' statute-book, tabooed by the grass-eating Babylonian, is with us: 1 Thessalonians, v. 23. Let the materialists join hand in hand, to Tib's eve with discussion, the epoch of argument is at an end; body, soul, and spirit are a living trinity none the less for ascription or per contra, during fourteen hundred years of theologico-scholastical philosophising.

Out of this triplet are evolved—by a process of working not clear, and perhaps by human language not explicable, if even so vouchsafed to any by inspiration as to become perceptible—out of this triplet are evolved three functions: the corporeal, the moral, and the spiritual; the spiritual is conversant about truth, the moral is the heart's reception of the law of truth, and the body is the instrumental operator of truth; the spirit is the candle of truth, the heart its atmosphere, and the body the lens by which it becomes visible and is manifested. To neglect the body and the heart, and to merely feed the spiritual, which can only be got at through the others, is as wise as to trepan a man and pour in wine to stimulate his brain. Yet this is what we call education. We thrust in facts upon the intellect; but of discipline, which is to preserve the body in health and to keep it under, we have little or nothing, and of the moral consciousness, or heart-drill, whereby the law of truth is diligently interrogated, and when found humbly submitted to, we teach nothing according to system, but leave it entirely to the accidents of home tuition, and the independent operation of the power of religion upon the private heart of each man. These two forces, when in full exercise, are doubtless the best possible educators; yet it is manifest that at the present day they are exceptional and of limited operation. The homes of the

majority are an ill-weeded garden, and the religion of most men is far from a vital and fruit-bearing faith. Most homes teach disarray, and most professional religions school men in hypocrisy. Then, from domestic and religious teaching, as they stand, there is small hope. Multiply pedagogues and academies upon the present plan *ad infinitum* for head learning, and the masses will only be less healthy and more viciously refined; the more conceited, the less obedient; the more discontented, the less governable; the more aspiring, and the less capable. Able conspirators and imbecile legislators will be the product of your tuition.

Infant schools, as now constituted, are a mischievous absurdity; mischievous, because unhealthful, absurd, because a dumb thing (or next to dumb); needing to be taught to walk is taught to spell and think. What can the great alphabet of its years spell by the time it has reached thirty?—if weak “fool,” if strong “knave.” Teach men so that the letters of the days of the years of their life, even though they be without book-learning, may spell “honesty” in a character legible to every layman and every skilled clerk. In the new course let Englishmen do as Xenophon tells us the Persians did—send boys to school to learn justice and virtue, as they do in other places to learn arts and sciences. We have said more perhaps on education than our space justifies, and yet, if there be one thing more hopeless than another in England, it is this, although there has been and is more talk and less sense spent upon it than upon any other subject.

The advantage of education which sets moral training above intellectual, is chiefly this, that it may be commenced in the cradle, whilst head learning commenced before seven years of age is positively pernicious, and at that age most children are obliged to leave school. In the next place moral training cannot be objected to by any sect with reason, and it is the re-

ligious so called that have hitherto stood in the way of any systematic course. Religious principles without dogmas are easily instilled *vivâ voce*, and noble human principles of action are not altogether out of reach of the child's apprehension; for this purpose the Bible is a *sine quâ non*. Any sect that rejects the Bible we must look upon as a heathen and a sinner, and we must reject that sect; for we can hold no communion and work out no plan conjointly with egregious infidels. To all else we stretch out a hand of brotherhood; to all who believe that Christ came to save sinners, and is alone sufficient to that end; to all such we say, we readily endure all your inorthodoxies, and implore you to overlook or deal lightly with our like infirmity.

But this moral education is not to be attained without severe discipline of the body, the beast, the animal in man; which is now left, without curb and without bridle, to explode in after-life in vehement passion, or to assume the cloak of deferential hypocrisy and man-fearing; dreading the loss of reputation, but the loss of virtue not at all. We must return to the exploded practice of corporal punishment, and waive the petty and false plea of indecency, and we must remove the sophism which connects shame with exposure; uniting the idea of shame (as it used to exist in less refined but better cultivated times) with evil and with vice and wrong, and regarding the fact of man's discovery and ascertainment of a crime as a mere accident, making no difference whatever in the inherent disgrace of sin. Are our wise men wiser than Solomon? who finds that stripes cleanse the inner man, as blueness of a wound cleanseth away evil (Prov. xx. 30), and that the rod of correction alone will drive out the foolishness that is bound up in the heart of every child (Prov. xxii. 15). What are our Bible readers about that they never read against theory, and what sort of interpreters are those who will only interpret what

makes for their own side? Are our wise men wiser than Solomon? nay, are they wiser than the Creator, whose daily providence punishes our excesses, our lusts, our pride, by severest corporeal inflictions?

The system of education pursued in those schools which are intended for the instruction of the children who are to form the working classes, is in every respect erroneous. It is calculated by a vanity of instruction and a species of false and partial knowledge—a smattering of geography *and the use of the globes*, a slight acquaintance with music, a little historical reading, and a multitude of other dabbings in art and science—to put a great many incongruous notions into the heads of the little students, who will all their life after work the worse for the trashy literary emulation now bred in them by these lessons.* This system, in its fuller development, in those classes which by more wealth and more leisure carry it out to its completion, does not work well—is not as good as less head-learning would be—because capacity is not given to everybody. It is as much as most can do to do one thing well; as Locke says, a man's Bible and business are enough for any man; and it is an absurdity to point to exceptions, and to say, Roscoe did his business, and Ebenezer Elliot did his business, and succeed in literature besides; for, unless you can show that everybody is like Roscoe and Elliot, you prove nothing; it is clear you may have educated all badly, but may not have succeeded in spoiling the life, disposition, and powers of every single individual brought up by you. The world is not literary, the world is not clerkly; every man is not born a scholar, but every man is born a man, and needs severe discipline to

* The children are continually told that they are wiser and better educated than their parents, and of course they soon come to consider themselves so, for the general defect of youth inclines, not to diffidence but, to self-sufficiency. Obedience is the thing to be learnt; is this the spirit in which it can be acquired?

make him a useful one. Why, then, try to make every man a scholar, and take no pains at all to make a man of him? The severity of English home discipline in the last century is set down by La Gravière, in his "Naval Sketches," as the prime cause of British supremacy at sea. We have lost it, ay, and we have spoiled the child too. Back to your discipline or perish; a murrain take your books; if all, all, all, fit or unfit, indiscriminately must droil and moil over them, crying all life long afterwards, "the red plague rid you for learning me your" languages.

As a hint for Utopia—to be conceived by some future idiot who inscribes opinions truth-steeped, in the ridiculous expectation that mankind may be induced to voluntarily adopt a veracity now and then,—as a hint we say, for such an air-realm and for such a ballooning idiot, it might be well to note that legislation is an exercise well worthy of human faculty, and is not to be got at without education; wisdom is not to be caught like a butterfly with a net or battledore at every lane-corner, which need never be trained, because it may always be caught ready made. Could we, think you, grow a little wisdom by sowing a little wisdom? Suppose we seized upon Rugby, or built a Rugby big enough to take 2000 children, to be admitted at five years and not after seven years of age; that they should undergo an almost Spartan discipline, dress all alike, and roughly though reasonably in winter and summer; that they should eat together at common meals; that they should be taught military exercises, running, wrestling, gymnastics; should be trained to endurance, to implicit obedience but not servility, and to self-government by monitors and juries of twelve, who should appoint all punishments, subject only to ratification by a master; fagging should not be permitted, nor bullying, if possibly to be avoided; that up to the age of fifteen they should only be taught reading and writing, modern languages whilst the tongue is pliant,

and a knowledge of the Bible, its history, prophecies, poetry, law, morality, truth, and revelation. By this time the faculty of each youth would be discernible; from fifteen to twenty-five ply him chiefly in that until he became a master in some one art or science, no longer in company with the whole body of his fellow-scholars, but only a picked class of like minds. That this one study might not become a one idea or mania, it would be necessary to indoctrinate all these special classes in a *philosophia prima*, or course of highest philosophy, which might bring all the most distinguished and capable in the special classes into one common philosophy class, where they would meet together on a sort of common ground again. The bodily and moral training should be continued throughout the whole of this period without any intermission. From twenty-five to thirty* they should travel in parties of twelve under the watchful eye of a travelling tutor, well acquainted with all that is remarkable in the country traversed, that they might not, as Bacon says, go hoodwinked. At thirty they would quit the seminary for the business of public life, or, taking fellowship, help to carry on this system of education; 1700 out of the 2000 students should be supported at the expense of their parents, or at least partially so, who should pay £80 a year; at any rate it should be so constituted at the commencement that the remaining 300 should be free scholarships defrayed by Government, for which any lad under fifteen, from a beggar's

* Plato in his scheme prohibited travelling before the age of forty or fifty, considering the mind could not derive solid or useful instruction from such expeditions until it had attained the discipline and maturity of years. As far as philosophical deduction is concerned, Plato was probably right. But at twenty-five much knowledge may be gained furnishing matter for future reflection, and many choice images and lovely impressions pictured in the eye are hung up imperishably, to decorate the mind throughout the whole of the after-life.

son to a nobleman's, should be eligible, if he exhibited great abilities of any kind, and also appeared by the medical authorities of the college as of sufficiently vigorous bodily frame. But the chief study of all the masters and professors of this establishment should be to pick out and encourage the scholars most apt in law and philosophy. Though all ability should be fostered, even to music and painting, yet legal and legislative ability should be chiefest. In Parliament though members might be chosen as now to represent counties and boroughs, yet out of these members none should be eligible to form an executive ministry save such as had passed through this college and graduated in law and philosophy. We should then have something better than a choice between three men to carry on her Majesty's Government.

You have now a sketch of most fantastic absurdity set before you—a mirth-making figment for Christmas-time—a buffoon's merriment at a Whitsun ale—a Rabelaisian vagary, forensically robed after More, the Utopian—a preposterous, invincibly ridiculous subject of cachinnation, calling upon all good stomachs and lovers of the barrel to burst with spontaneous combustion of irrepressible laughter. The zany Plato has written much about education; an excellent jest to the newspaper scribe of consummate skill and inappreciable wisdom is the good it has done—rare joke this! All that ever wiseacres wrote about “too-ition” has gone for nothing with us practical folk. That buckram sage, Lycurgus, everybody knows his two-dog story to the Hercules offspring of Lacedæmon; he thought habit stronger than nature, but we have a lazy dæmon, too, that makes our nature too strong for any good habit. He set the two dogs before their eyes because “the eyes of the ignorant are more learned than their ears,” and the Spartans were persuaded to whip to death some of their children before Orthia and pitch others into Taygetus gulf.

This farcical old gentleman committed suicide at Delphi; shall we adopt his monetary system, with cannon balls for pence, and employ artillery for the circulating medium? Would you have us nineteenth century men adopt this atom of B.C. ethics?—that “as nobody can help children being born into the world, let us by right institution take care that they walk right when they do come into it”—very absurd this of the old suicide; we want no such help as this; we want to be rich. “Wealth of nations,”—Adam Smith is our king, better than Lycurgus; “buy in the cheapest, sell in the dearest market” is our rule and ordinance. What care we for Spartan habits—Spartans who, as that old fabulator, Plutarch, says, went into battle (as Englishmen used formerly, according to Rawleigh), confident of success—ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ συμπάρωντος, as though God were present—very absurd! We don’t want any such company now; we are better without too close a presence in our modern money transactions.

We want no more teaching; Englishmen have done with all that, they learn everything now. Let us finish with two or three more good laughter-making citations from obsolete wisdom. The deformed Stagirite, who is the chief amongst those who have gone wrong by rule, finds that all who have meditated on the art of governing mankind have been convinced that the fate of empires depends on the education of youth. The force of this lies in the example he has exhibited to the world in the person of his royal pupil—the son of Philip—whose avarice was so insatiable, that it sat down to cry for more worlds. Alexander fought well, but that is nothing to us, as we shall have no more wars; perpetual peace so manifestly clothes the whole Continent.

Tillotson, who was a sort of Yorkshire farmer in literature, enumerates several ways of reforming mankind, by magisterial laws, and by pulpit addresses, but

by far "the most likely and hopeful reformation of the world must begin with children." The point of this *jeu d'esprit* consists in the fact, that Tillotson would have none but the clergy intrusted with the charge of children, so that his reformation of the world is likely to wait a considerable time before it will be thoroughly effected.

Bacon has touched upon this, as he has upon every thing, in his "Advancement of Learning," remarking that "The ancient wisdom of the best times did always make a just complaint, that states were too busy with their laws, and too negligent in point of education." Now, the peculiar absurdity of this is its antiquity, for who would rule our enlightened epoch with a truth that was only novel 3000 years ago? As Wordsworth said to Emerson, when he mentioned a new translation of Plato as desirable, "Oh! we have embodied all that." There is no doubt, England in this century has grown still wiser than it was when this oracle spoke at Rydal Mount; we have now embodied all the wisdom of all the ancients, or at least Heyday or some binder has, in calf-skin or russia, for us. We are a pot, full of the elixir of wisdom,—it is all in us safe enough, and in no likelihood of diminution, for we never leak a drop of it. No pore of porcelain betrays our sacred content. The English people are uncommonly like Socrates; he was said to resemble apothecaries' boxes, or Sileni, painted outside with all manner of harpy shapes, funambules, monsters, dragons, and chimæras, but inside, full of aloes and inestimable spikenards. So with us, our content is extremely precious; what matters, if we make a buffoon-like appearance to the rest of the world? If they were as wise as we are, they would just put their nose to the mouth of the jar, before they took upon them to call it lumber and to throw it away.

All this is very gratifying, and we feel conscious that we are a very great people—noble specimens of

wisdom, and shining lights of liberty; and we are delighted to behold the voluntary system of education by which each man neutralizes and undoes the work his neighbour has done, so that no harm can arise, as it is sure to be undone instantly—an exquisite feature this in the voluntary system, and which we could never sufficiently commend if its permanency could be insured to us. Now, Diogenes, who was a tub of wisdom, just as we are a pot of it, was once sold as a slave in Crete, and the crier put to him the customary question, by what qualification he should commend him to the buyers. "Say," said our tub, "you sell a man who can teach children." He was purchased, and taught children to the delight of the parent. Then he advertised himself: "*Estne quispiam qui velit emere dominum?*"—is there nobody who will buy a master? On this account our admiration of neutralized teaching is somewhat diminished, when we see that a slave endowed with educational faculty comes to be master, and we fear that masters without educational faculty may come to be slaves. Let those who do not wish to buy a master beware how they pay his purchase-money in luxuries, in dress, in immorality, in ignorance; and let them weigh well the education which at any cost will buy for their children frugality and virtue.

CHAPTER VI.

IRELAND—THE SUFFRAGE.

“Thou injurious tribune !
 Within thine eyes sat twenty thousand deaths,
 In thy hands clutched as many millions, in
 Thy lying tongue both numbers. I would say
 Thou heest, unto thee, with a voice as free
 As I do pray the gods.”

CORIOLANUS. Act 3, Sc. 3.

No one can appreciate the true position of England—her strength or weakness—if he has not familiarized himself with the state of Ireland ; but we have been tempted to enlarge so much upon education, that we can say scarcely anything upon this head. Let it suffice to know that in respect of a foreign enemy, Ireland is our weak point. St. Ruth, so called, *lucus a non lucendo*, from having no pity, has been honoured by Napoleon with offerings to his shrine and service ; as significant of Gallic priestly superstition it is a small matter, but as a political hint it enlarges into great magnitude. It testifies to an illicit and close relationship between a foreign power and the Irish hierarchy—a hint strengthened by the speech of the Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald, who tells the people to go to the Emperor of the French, that he may obtain for them, from the English Government, redress of the tenant laws. Imagine the condition of things in which such an insult could be possible. Look again to the revival of

Ribbonism—to the direct countenance given to Papists in the endowment of their schools by Government, and the payment of their army chaplains and gaol chaplains. Consider these things, and ask yourselves if Ultramontaniam, incarnation of despotism as it is, can be, with even a grain of political prudence (letting alone all appeal to nobler motives), can be a legitimate object of toleration? It cannot. Why, then, do we sit still, and by our dilatory virtue, add fuel to the flame of the coming struggle? Self-defence must take precedence of all theoretical Christian doctrine; we must be safe ourselves before we can be generous, and though Popery is nowhere so weak as in Rome itself, yet, like the Banyan tree, its branches have grown down in Austria, France, and Ireland, and have struck root in mother earth again, which may make it live,—banned, doomed and under curse though it be,—for many a weary long year yet. A Bible-abominating, spirit-desolating, slave-nurturing pest that it is. Can we, as Biblists, professing to hold the Scriptures as precious oracles of celestial descent, as emanations of Divine light sent to illuminate the nations sealed in nightshade, can we, live in unity or brotherly love, or make common cause with those who openly profess hatred of this book, who soil it in the market place by the hands of the common hangman, and then consign to flames the volume wherein are bound up all our hopes and our hearts with them? Perish such a folly from the mind of every sane man. It cannot be; such toleration is to walk with a madman on the brink of a precipice. We do not ask you for cruelties in requital for old scores, but we adjure England, and the Orangemen of Ireland, to look closely to it, lest by or before the year 1872, we have a re-enactment of St. Bartholomew's by help of French intervention.

In dealing with the interests of England generally, it is not possible, at a moment such as this, to leave

the question of Administrative Reform unattempted. Equally impossible, perhaps, will it be found to suggest anything so conclusive, so simple, and so equitable, as to command the assent of all the embittered parties now struggling together in the nation. In this, which ought to be the calmest and most deliberate act of judgement, everything is referred to passion; and where all sides are actuated by a blind impulse, it is certain beforehand, that the multitude, by mere pressure of numbers, must carry any proposition which their fiery prejudices have recommended to them. There is not a doubt but that the penny papers (two or three to every country town), are hastening this pernicious result with the hands of Briareus. A truly patriotic and wise government, would, at this moment invite written contributions from all quarters, to reason out the essential requisites of Reform. They would publish these in small pamphlets, and distribute them gratis as widely as the penny papers circulate, and they would repeat this process again and again. The penny papers are wildly, insanely edited, and become the frantic exponents and exaggerators of the already flagrant follies of agitator Bright; who is nothing else but a rude, and ignorant democrat of considerable natural powers, but lawless, and uncultivated, and an infidel to the constitution of England. Is he not disqualified wholly, by his own showing, from attempting legislation in any other way than by a commencement from the *tabula rasa* of revolution? How can he, after denying the existence of our constitution, insult our understandings by pretending to ameliorate it? A patient is essential to the practice of medicine; but Mr. Bright denies the existence of the patient for whose benefit he is vending his nostrums. This is, perhaps, the most unblushing sophism that has ever been erected into a popular cry for the party purpose of demagogy. The cheap press, we repeat, is this man's rebellious follower. No

penny paper—we speak from personal knowledge—no cheap provincial paper can sell now, if it be not warm in the advocacy of manhood suffrage and electoral districts. It is no matter how English it may be—how thorough going in the exposure of abuses—it must advocate the above trash, or it is doomed; and the editors soon find this out, and against their better judgment supply the requisite fustian to the fustian jackets.

It is enough to say of Mr. Bright's bill, that there is no vestige of a principle contained in it. It does not embody his own opinions, nor the opinions of anybody else. It is, shall we call a spade a spade? a cowardly compromise. It is a sweeping change in the direction of democracy, so made up as to catch the support of many, by concessions to all sorts of theories now floating through the public mind. We need not trouble ourselves with the changes it will introduce into the House of Commons. As it is based upon no principle, it is not worth while discussing it. It will not be carried by the wisdom of the country, but it may be carried by the will.

We do not agree with Mr. Drummond, nor his authority, Judge Blackstone, that the principle of English representation, is representation of the land-owners in both Houses of Parliament. Blackstone may be very good authority for the processes of law, he may be a valuable expositor in matters, whether of common or statute law, but nobody will set him up as a great guide in the philosophy of legislation. Why, he starts with an absurdity—that it is the fears of mankind that first formed society. Do fears or mothers bring children? Are fears then, or love, the first social institution? A representative government, we apprehend, does really mean, not the property, not the land, but that all classes shall be represented in some way or other in the deliberative councils of the nation; though, perhaps, not all equally. Magna Charta is

thought to establish the right of burgesses to sit in Parliament. Hence it may be said to have asserted the principle that no man shall be taxed without consent of Parliament, or, by implication, without his own consent. In the twenty-second year of Edward I. it was more fully established that "no manner of tax or aid should be imposed or gathered" without the consent of the lords, knights, burgesses, "*and other freemen of this realm.*" The thing is clear enough,—venerable old Magna Charta will have none of lawyer Blackstone's exposition. There is not a word about land in this popular schedule of taxation; the man who pays to the state buys government, and, like any other purchaser, does so, conceiving that he receives his money's worth. Highly revolutionary, this baron and burgess work at Runnymede,—vesting all with privilege imperial over their own purse-strings! Upon the strength of this little drop which was wrung from the nose of King John, sneaking Lackland, we make bold to believe that a representative government means a government in which the representation is national, in which no class or classes shall suppress, injure, or overload any other class or classes. If a council is to be national, it is clear enough that every class must be represented; thus far the manhood suffrage is good. It is, however, a defective method of establishing a good principle. The intention is good, but the method ludicrous. The method would be absolutely subversive of the principle it set out by proposing. It would bring all classes under the control of the very lowest, because they preponderate in nothing else but in number, and manhood suffrage comprehends nothing else, and addresses itself to nothing else than number. Certainly this is very simple, but it is simply absurd. The inferior order complains that it has been misused by those above it, to cure which it is now going, not to help to legislate for itself, but to legislate for the

whole kingdom ; it proposes hereafter to do that same injury to all other classes which it pretends some of them have done to it. As a vindictive revenge, this may be excellent, but as a matter of statesmanship or legislation, it is a dreg, a *caput mortuum* of absurdity. The lower class must be content to count one, and one only, amongst the classes, or else they must declare revolution and war to the knife, and start afresh, as we before said Mr. Bright must do, from the *tabula rasa* of revolution. Mr. Bright's Utopia is to make wild men dwell in sane men's houses.

We cannot discuss the innumerable systems and schemes of Reform ; started, some with more, some with less complexity, from dukes to barristers, from barristers to costermongers. To examine all or a tythe of these panaceas for a sinking state, space would fail us, and patience our readers. But there are two requisites which cannot be dispensed with in a wise and wholesome reform—two principles that may be partially recognised in some plans, but are wholly recognised in none. They are correspondent to the two needs of every state ; these two needs are progression and permanence ; to attain the first, the representation must be national, for nothing but a perfect impartiality in this respect can satisfy for long. In the second place, it must not be revolutionary ; if it be, there is an end of one of the principles of vitality in a state—its permanence.

We must boast a little, we must glorify ourselves ; but at the same time, we do so with a deep sense of frailty and humility. The suggestion we are about to make is exceedingly simple, and as obvious as Columbus's egg, when it is once pointed out. It has been recognised and applied as a principle in the election of rulers. As at Rome in her early and purer times, of which Ovid says, in his *Fasti* :—

“ Nec nisi post annos patuit tunc curia senos
Nomen et ætatis mite Senatus habet.”

But even then it was not applied as we propose to apply it now. It is, however, the application of a natural law to the now chaotic state of legislation which may chance by a general reception to work out,—by God's grace, and the operation of His Holy Spirit,—a principle of regularity, and a law of order which have long ceased to direct our insular politics. For, if there is one thing more than another, which has obtruded itself upon the speculative thinker during the last fifty years, it is that no political course has been adopted, which was capable of assuming in the mind a definite and conceptible form. It is the nature of such a substantive idea, to form to the mind a contemplative resting-place. From which, to speak figuratively, it deliberately sets out as from a sure point, and, by a siege of analysis, reduces the strongest redoubts of doubt into simple and quiet allegiance. In the suggestion which we now set forth, we claim to be actuated by such a substantive idea; and, in spite of the overwhelming ridicule with which the novelty of an eternal truth is always greeted upon its first enunciation, we boldly court ridicule, and defy it. We boldly and boastfully insist that we enunciate an Œdipoid thought, which time will show to be a true solution of the agitative reform riddle of this present day. Take your choice, England, in this 19th century, sow-trampler of many pearls as you are and have been, to your infinite and incalculable, but little-cared-about impoverishment. Take your choice, I say. Here is a simple truth. But if you like the Beta better than the Alpha, be boon-fellows with Bright and Barabbas. It is no matter; I shall go into the pit or into slavery with you, but the unit is no matter, and I am not solicitous about it. I could wish to see this country doing honour to its faith and liberties in God's earth, and working manfully in the horrid hours that are upon us, and that may now be read upon the face of the dial of the clock of the months before us.

I could wish to see each man a soldier, and each soldier carrying, in his heart of hearts enshrined, the effigy of God's Son, or, rather, his presence personal. I could wish to see this. But what am I who wish? Proud and brave thoughts scarcely befit a zoophyte; and yet humility in this is treason. Who dares to pray for a humility that may befit the hereafter of his country? None but a Papist, whose best allegiance is alien. But if ill days are coming, it is a matter of imperative prudence that we set our house in order speedily. To this, then, we return.

As there are two interests in a state; the one, that its constitution should enable it to innovate; and to incorporate every change presented by the renewing world, or as Gower has it, "the world which neweth every day"—this is the interest of progression; and the other interest is of permanence; so that the calm directing judgment of the country may introduce no changes out of discontent or the mere desire of change, for change's sake, but in all the changes, which the inevitable progress of the time may introduce, will seek to adapt them to the law of permanency, and so from the very alteration evolve a principle of increased stability. Now, the period of youth and manhood, even to the age of forty-five, is an unstable imaginative and fiery period, which, in its incessant activities of labour and passion, ripples in most men the calm lake of judgment, and presents to the apprehension no object in its entirety, but in the place of it a confused series of fractured and partial images. "I would there were no age between ten and three-and-twenty," writes Shakspeare, and puts it in the mouth of a shepherd in the *Winter's Tale*. We cannot altogether wish it away, it is the period of infatuation, of dream-days, of growth, of wooing, and of the poet's frenzy—a wonderful and beautifully foolish period, full of weeping and laughter, of admiration,

and of unselfish sorrow. From twenty-three to forty-five is the business period, the time of energetic work, real, downright, positive labour; "trouble me not with child's play and poetry, I have put away those things;" the man of thirty seems to say, "I am busy, I have found a man's work to do, and I must do it"—trouble him not with speculative notions, he has business on hand that must be done; there is no time for discussion, his children's mouths are open at home and must be filled. But as he nears the age of forty-five the labour faculty begins to diminish, and with it the necessity; the children are wooing and just about to set up for themselves, and tackle to work; their poetry is nearly over, poor things! they will depute Long-fellow to do that for them for the future—but our gentleman of forty-five is getting very much to think about the affairs of the nation, to perceive that the time is out of joint, and perhaps that he is born to set it right. Whether or no, he begins by this time to have an opinion which has grown up in him under all manner of influences, he has got to know what he wants; this is an immense point in all legislation. In every hundred such individuals, we venture to affirm, that though each would advocate some change which, according to his opinion, would be for the better, you would scarcely find one, who would be for the adoption of even his own favourite views, if they could not be rendered consistent with the principle of permanence.

Now, in respect of a conversion to the principle of permanence, we are of opinion that forty-five years of life have an effect very similar upon men of all stations in society. The most revolutionary mechanic, if he have any sense at all, will be found modifying his theories considerably at, or about, this period. He has learned that all mechanics are not Solons, nay, are not even patriots; that all magistrates are not tyrants; that all the middle class are not selfish and unprincipled;

that all the nobility are not scented and civeted kaisers-in-little. Sundry acts of human good fellowship from men of all classes, in the street, in the public room, on the railway, he has from time to time experienced, and he finds that, upon the whole, other people are as good as himself. The mechanic is the most difficult man at the present juncture that we have to deal with. But we think that even he, with all his revolutionary spirit, might well be taken by the hand, ay, and with gain to the nation at large, if we take age as the qualification for a voter. Thieves, criminals, paupers, beggars, &c., are of course to be considered as disqualified from voting under every system of suffrage.

The proposition, then, is to give to every man of creditable character throughout the country a right to vote, the sole qualification to be required of him being, the proof of his having attained to the age of forty-five years.* This, of course, will extend the suffrage

* Should the reader look upon this suggestion as a wild and ridiculous vagary, a bookworm's theory, altogether devoid of practical application, he will do well to turn to the small pamphlet of John Stuart Mill, the great logician, entitled, "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform," wherein the qualification of an elector is transferred from property to education, upon the principle that "a person who can read, but cannot write or calculate, is *not as good* as a person who can do both." This great authority proposes to accord a plurality of votes to electors of high educational attainments, according to proficiency. The largest number to be obtained by one individual should be fixed at a certain point, and all inferior degrees should be represented numerically down to unity—there is no reason, we are told, "why every one who applies to be registered as an elector should not be required to copy a sentence of English in the presence of the registering officer, and to perform a *common sum in the rule of three*." It would be as reasonable to require of every elector that he should be able to play "There is nae Luck about the House" on the pianoforte. Every man who knows how to get an honest living in the world, and is willing to work for it—a qualification which would exclude half your scrawling scribes and sharp arithmeticians—is educated enough for the vital purposes of the kingdom, and finds, in sturdy

to many very unfit persons; so will every possible extension of the suffrage. No man is really entitled to a vote except he be a good man and a patriot; but as we cannot read men's hearts, we cannot set up virtue as a test. In point of fact, the above proposition though it will shock many by its liberality, is evidently more secure in principle than anything which has yet been proposed as a means of attaining the desirable object of *nationalizing* the suffrage. Manhood suffrage gives no security whatever—no personal assurance of any kind that we shall not be inundated with the crude notions of revolutionary multitudes, emanating from the "boiled brains of 23." Again, a money qualification at the best of times, was ridiculous in principle. The arrangement of the old Roman republic, where classes were formed by an aggregation of individuals of like property, might be well enough; but that the rent a man pays—which gives no more idea of his property than a hang-nail would of his frame—should constitute a qualification, is truly and unspeakably absurd. Supposing the franchise to be extended to the £5 householder, what earthly security does that furnish to the state, that the man is a fit and proper person to exercise the most responsible act of citizenship? Of course, those who benefit by it advocate it; but it is not to be supposed that they will rest contentedly upon an arrangement that is purely arbitrary. If the £5 householder is admitted, decidedly, we may as well accept manhood suffrage at once. Perhaps some one objects that the £5 householder has as good a right to vote as the £10 householder—that the £10 limit was arbitrary and foolish.

work and rough intercourse with men, a practical schooling that quite fits him for admission to the franchise. I say he is not only *as good* as one who can read and write, but a vast deal better than half of them. Learning is not judgment, and acquirements are not honesty. If age is an absurd qualification, what do you say to the rule of three? Look at the educational test in China.

Certainly, and we maintain nothing else, but there is no reason why we should extend the absurdity. Will it make an absurd act rational, if we repeat it fifty times instead of once? Does a multiplicity of fools make one wise man? Does not history rather show that, if left to themselves, the fools are far more likely to invent some short way of being rid of the said wise man as a nuisance.

We maintain that the current opinion of the day is in favour of nationalizing the suffrage. The schemes generally proposed will not effect this, but are likely enough to denationalize the country. You cannot nationalize the franchise without a perfect impartiality. Any limitations you may think it advisable to lay upon the right of voting, must be such as apply to man as man, and not as citizen. All conventional distinctions of rank, position, class, and money are shut out by the very nature of the case, and they never were, at any period, such reliable distinctions as those, which are based on a common humanity. The accidents which distinguish men as men, are the bodily frame, the quality of the mind, and age. It is to be supposed that nobody would choose voters as King Saul was chosen for his size; or, that the guardians of the state should be a sort of Lifeguards; for it might chance that thus we should only get the biggest fools in the kingdom. Neither can we settle it by the quality of the mind and the moral virtue of the man; for nobody will admit that he has less sagacity than his neighbour, or virtue inferior to him. Pascal thinks well and wisely, that you must distinguish men by externals, and almost says, "So-and-So dresses in brocade, and has seven or eight lacqueys, therefore let him knock me off the pavement." This, however, is only an extreme illustration of an indisputable fact—that virtue and wisdom, as they do not admit of instant reference and proof, are not sufficiently tangible to serve for the rough and ready distinctions of every-day life. Hence

we must fall back upon the third accident that distinguishes men, namely, their age.* Now, we do not altogether believe in the wisdom of age any more than we do in the virtue of old wine; the quality must be good to begin with. But thousands can say, with Cleopatra, "Though age, from folly could not give me freedom, it does from childishness." If, by the plan recommended, we cannot hope to escape the follies which are incidental to human nature universally, we may, at least, shut out those rampantly rebellious follies which distinguish all men in the period of the passions. We do not require a brilliantly imaginative and poetical man, who will choose King Stork for us; but rather a cool, and, if it must be so, foolish, elderly deliberator, who will be content, since frogs must be absurd, with inoffensive King Log. The real truth of the business is so easily shown, and so small a matter, that it may be wrapped up in a midge's wing. If we could secure, by help of Hercules, or by some other sage Brobdignag of antiquity, a perfect—critically, indestructibly perfect—representation of the country; who believes that anything very grand would result from it? Not I, for one. The *belua multorum capitum* is not a sagacious beast; many heads are often like no head, and reduce affairs to the *nec caput, nec pedes*, of the Roman proverb, of neither beginning nor end. The beast often, through its big goggle bull's eyes, mistakes some boggling Quaker for a Saviour, and tilts with all its horns against its best friend, who exclaims in Coriolanus' words, or something of that sort, "The beast with many heads butts me away." Poor crazy beast is the *belua multorum capitum*. But, though we apprehend very little real good from an infallible suffrage

* It is not proposed to disfranchise any who now are qualified to vote, but that no more voters shall be added to the list upon the present principle of a property qualification.

scheme (and thereupon we pretend to have put you in possession of an Œdipoid thought), we apprehend a very great deal of harm possibly to arise, if the said many-mouthed Stentor should pertinaciously insist upon a bad one, and to that most mischievous matadore, or rather picadore, red-rag-flickerer to John Bull, we do most solemnly conclude, with a voice of warning. We wish that the Jesuit at his back were strung up at Tyburn, that man in black, skulking, bribing, promising kingdoms of the earth and glory, prompting misrepresentation about representation. Oh! that the movers of the puppet-strings of this world could be got at, stripped, and set up in all deformity before John Goggle mighty Bull; what short work he would make of his professional friends and red-rag flickerers. Some day he will find it out, but at present he will swallow Bright's recipe and fee him in £70,000, as Cobden was feed. Bull, I want nothing of you, this advice is gratis: reverse the order, pay Bright what he agitates for, and pitch his recipe into the gulf of perdition, instead of going there together with it when it begins to operate on your Constitution. For you, Bright, if you really have a mind to be useful, abandon that inspiration which comes from behind; the Jesuit and the strings are not the least to your credit as an Englishman, and they may end in your total annihilation. Recollect that the people dance upon the grave of a traitor.

Here lies John Bright,
The man who called wrong right;
A Quaker, whose life was one fight
To make black appear white.

This is only one of many possible epitaphs, should you think proper by deserving ill of your country to merit them. Everybody knows that you are not a statesman; your best friend would admit you to be

monocular—that is your way of getting your eye to be single; take care that some πολέμητις Ὀδυσσεύς, some Ulysses of ready counsel, does not scoop out that one for you. What business have you with your one idea of peace, when there is no peace?—to shout from your Cyclopean cavern the blunder of John Foster? as if you had anything in common with such a mind as his except when it was wrong. The constitution of England is a “cantcd and extolled humbug.” Is it? and what are you? For shame! You, the inhabitant of a country in which the laws are faithfully administered; in which, such is the liberty of the subject, assertions of most libellous license (you yourself being, as above, a living instance), are permitted to pass unpunished; a country whose tongue, a foreigner, not particularly well disposed to us, describes as “the vernacular of liberty;” a country, which alone, in all Europe, by traditionary institutions immemorially transmitted, has preserved individual freedom, and has enabled every two-legged mortal here, with spirit, to beard yon tyrant with the opprobrium of his deeds. Here, the land in which property is preserved, and the very Queen herself is servant to the laws; here, where civil and religious liberty—if not wholly perfect (as what can be?)—are still recognised as noble principles, and are still working as active principles. Is it here, in this very palace and royalty of freedom, this Acropolis of liberty—is it here, and thus privileged, that you dare raise a cry against our thrice blessed joy; and vow, that we, the favoured of the earth, have no immunities, and that our constitution is a “cantcd and extolled humbug;” and all this, because you wish to poll a few more mechanics to vote you a pension? “Thy money perish with thee.” To you it is useless to say more, but to your followers it may not be quite profitless to present the words of the fiercest, and yet calmest poet of old Greece,

well instructed in the effect of the hireling cries of demagogy, Pindar by name, who says: "It is easy for the meanest to shake a state, but to put it back again in place, is difficult indeed, except some sudden God appear as helmsman to the rulers." (*Pythia*, Carmen IV. l. 455.)

CHAPTER V.

ON THE COLONIES AND THE NAVIGATION LAWS.

"The next thing is that of Colonies and Foreign Plantations, which are very necessary as outlets to a populous nation, and may be profitable also if they be managed in a discreet way."

BACON'S *Advice to Villiers*, Vol. VI. p. 437.

THE colonies present two aspects—the commercial and the political. The one relates to wealth, and the other relates to strength. With regard to wealth, it matters not what opinion or sect we are of; whether Free Traders or Protectionists, it cannot be denied that commerce is profitable, and that colonies, which are but markets under control, must be as good if we choose to make them so as foreign markets, which are markets not under control. Therefore, we may assert without fear of contradiction, that in a commercial sense colonies either are, or may be productive of wealth; and therefore, either are, or may be made, desirable possessions. If this be granted (and it is not possible to deny it, and remain a reasonable creature), it follows that the cry so constantly raised, that the colonies are a burden, is a cry of idiotcy,—a fool's lamentation over "a lion in the way," which is a brave beast, created by a coward fancy. The cry is nothing more than a judgment of self-accusation, pronouncing that, by our own folly, we have brought things to a despe-

rate pass, and that we have taken pains to create the burden which we grumble to carry, but which we will adopt no wholesome measure to get rid of, or to readjust. It may be true that the colonies are a burden now; but it certainly is false that they ever ought to have been (save at first planting, perhaps), or ever need be, if we choose to regulate them justly.

Thus far, I think the reader is bound to agree with me. If the colonies are not profitable, it is our own fault. They are markets under our controul and commerce is profitable. Therefore, if the colonies are not profitable, it is the fault of England that they are not so. Further than this, I ask for no agreement, because the problem of how to make the colonies profitable is not quite self-evident; and if a thing deviates but a tittle from what is self-evident, all manner of diversity of opinion immediately rushes in together with logic, and common sense makes a speedy exit. Happy is the nation whose most recondite policy is not repugnant to the common sense of any religious and honest mind. The theories that require elaborate argumentation to render them apparently reasonable, are presumably false; for it is in politics as it was in astronomy, the simplest hypothesis is the most conformable to reason. Eccentrics, epicycles, and librations, were all at an end when men turned and said, it is the earth moves, and not the sun. This discovery you will say was the reverse of common sense. I grant it, but that was because the grounds of astronomy are out of the reach of common sense, whilst the grounds of legislation are not; but the epicycles upon epicycles were ridiculous in themselves, for Alphonsus of Arragon jested with their absurdity, when he said he could have counselled God better in the ordering of the celestial movements. Though he knew not the simplicity of the truth, he recognised the absurd complexity of the falsehood. Happy is the nation that will walk by sight, and not by theory,

for policy is not a mystery. There are optical illusions, for the sun is bigger than a copper saucepan; and Teneriffe, though fifty miles in perspective, is larger than the loaf of bread in the captain's cabin; but the sight is correct enough for our purpose, and perspective will not prevent us from dining. But if you theorise incorrectly, and will not follow sight or sense, and maintain that things will grow without being planted, by the spontaneity of nature—that fire will exist without fuel, because there is a principle of latent heat—you will have neither corn, nor meat, nor fire to cook by, and theory will prevent you from dining.

It is quite plain, then, to common sense, that a countryman is more to you and me than a foreigner, and is entitled to every possible preference which we can bestow upon him; it is also plain that if we get him and his family to go abroad for us, and take possession of territory and open up a market for us, he is entitled to some commercial privilege for so doing in preference to any foreigner: first, because he is a countryman, and secondly, because he has done us a service. Now, it is this common sense view which Free Trade ignores. "Buy in the cheapest, sell in the dearest market," is its maxim, without asking any questions about the market and to whom the market belongs. Do away, it says, with all restriction upon commerce and shipping, because restrictions raise price. Never mind about countrymen or anything else; what is good for commerce must be good for them. Now, I maintain that this is reversing the fact, and you must recur to all manner of cycles and epicycles to establish it; but if you start by recognising the moral claims of your countrymen, irrespective of the degrees of latitude under which they happen to reside—if you begin by admitting that they have preferential rights over foreigners—you will arrive at a much sounder decision. Give them their moral rights and you will

find that what is good for the men is good for commerce. You must not argue from commerce to men, but from men to commerce.

Colonies have a right to a preference over foreigners in commerce as in everything else, and any policy not recognising this (and especially repudiating it, as now-a-days our frivolous statist do), is policy deficient in common sense. An opponent may perhaps say, look at exclusive China—what has it gained by its hatred of foreigners. Nothing, I admit; but there is a wide difference between a total exclusion of the stranger and a small but constant preference shown to kith and kin. A father does not prohibit his children from going into the world; neither does he treat all his friends like heathens and barbarians; but he does everything to enrich his family, and everything that he is able to put them forward in the world, giving them invariably a preference, even before his best friends. He acts like a Christian to all men, but like a father only to his offspring. This is just the relationship which a wise government recognises as subsisting between itself and all of its subjects; a king is called *pater patriæ*, the subjects are brothers, a fellow countryman is a brother. But if, by a free trade, you place all your colonial brethren upon the same footing as foreigners in matters relating to commerce, you do, in reality, snap all the bonds of commercial interest that subsist between you, and which might serve to point out, to connect, and consolidate the fraternal relationship. To say that it is base to found a union upon the sordid consideration of mercenary profit, is to take vastly too high a ground for poor human nature. Profit influences the best and noblest of us very greatly as individuals, though personal feelings might often triumph over considerations of mere profit; but with colonies, in the course of two or three generations personal feelings and reminiscences have almost died out, and unless advantage links the new race to the

mother country, there are no solid ties whatever to depend upon. Preserve the links of intercourse, of profit, and of privilege, and doubtless the fond memory of the mother soil will never cease to be vividly retained. On the other hand, if these ties are broken, and foreigners are treated as well as the colonists, the colonists will soon come to consider themselves as foreigners, and will only await a favourable opportunity to declare themselves entirely independent of us.

In speaking of the colonies, some notice of the Navigation Laws is hardly to be avoided. To the mercantile marine this country is very deeply indebted for its unprecedented commercial success. The energy of our seamen and ship-masters has made our empire what it is, a thing without a parallel in the world's history. Now, governments have never been instrumental in developing colonies; the Spanish government destroyed theirs. Our Government did but little towards establishing the North American settlements, and nothing whatever in Hindostan, and in the case of America it only interfered to lose the United States. Why? because governments are grasping; because they make the colonies posts of infamous jobbing and patronage; because they love nepotism, and because they forget duty and are urged to adopt a course from any motive rather than because it is just and because it is right. These are the reasons why governments have failed in colonial legislation. Commerce and seamen have made the colonies. It may be worth while, therefore, to see under what auspices these seamen and this commerce grew up. They cannot be denied to have arisen under the Navigation Laws; free traders say, in spite of the Navigation Laws.

In the first place, let us review what has happened. The Navigation Laws date—if you will permit the egg to represent, in a parliamentary way, the chicken—from A.D. 1381; for, by the statute 5 Rich. 2, it is

enacted, for "the increase of the navy," "now greatly diminished," that the king's liege people do henceforth ship merchandise only "in ships of the king's liegance;" and in the following year much the same matter was repeated, merely permitting the use of a foreign ship where no "ships of the king's liegance" could be had; and six years later the merchants of the realm were ordered not to freight "strange ships," so that ship-owners "take reasonable gains for the freight of the same." Edward VI. and his ever blessed sister—Harry in petticoats, bloody Mary—set restrictions upon foreign merchants, and the Hanse Towns, exceedingly chafing under these restrictions, made a formal and loud remonstrance to Elizabeth on that topic. Glorious Elizabeth, founder of English liberties! Amongst other liberties, one of the grandest was the English marine, which, by a wise and common sense policy,—of feeding your own children very full indeed, actually up to the throat, before you give away even the crumbs to the dogs outside,—she managed to leave the English navy—spite of Rudolph II., Philip, the Armada, Gregory and Bartlemy shambles—in a growing position. England owes to her half the wisdom of the letter of the navigation law when first committed to writing by Oliver Ironsides, but by no means invented by that Huntingdon beer-maker out of jealousy, conceived solely (as Ricardo, political economist, and excessively sagacious, but, in this particular, *falsely* says) against the Dutch. After Elizabeth came James, and with him sundry disagreements with the Dutch, who talked fair and did evil a long time; perpetrating piracy, or little better, until our admiral took dudgeon and made reprisals. Then high words arose about the flag, and the great Grotius,—who afterwards was got out of the prison at Louvenstein, by packing in a book chest of 3 feet 6,—wrote his *Mare Liberum*, which brought out Selden's strong replication of *Mare*

Clausum, and the literary battle hardened into cannon balls and discourses—as Sir William Boswell, our ambassador at the Hague, said—in “the louder language of a powerful navy,” and “better understood.” Bayonets and cannon-balls are a logic freed, we think, from all elenches and sophisms that will sometimes trip up the best practician of Aldrich, Watts, and Whately. If you mean right in a world that means wrong, always be ready to enforce upon opponents conviction of your worthy motives by bullet proof. It is appreciable by, and finds its way into, the densest skull. In the practical old times it was called the *ultima ratio regum*—kings’ logic; and it is no less a royal argument and sovereign remedy in these days; did it not make the black question white, only lately, in the *Charles et Georges* affair, to the satisfaction of Europe, and especially of England?

After all these anticipatory hints came the thing itself—the Act of 1651, entitled in a notable way, “An Act for increase of Shipping, and Encouragement of the Navigation of this Nation.” It has been tampered with frequently between this period and its abolition, and its amendments had almost crushed the breath out of it; but still the preamble of each amended Act ran with the self-same heading, “for the Increase and Encouragement,” until Labouchere—mighty counsellor, indued with superlative wisdom, as much an Englishman in character as in name!—blotted out this respect-worthy title, and brought in a bill which was, no doubt, intended to legislate for quite the reverse object—the diminution of shipping, and the discouragement of British navigation. We must not interrupt you, gentle reader, by contrasting the law of 1660 with the law of 1847; it would occupy too much of your time and attention, which is, no doubt, very fully engrossed bread-making for tomorrow,—as I never yet saw any Englishman who thought that “sufficient unto the day is the evil

thereof" for self and family, though quite sufficient for the affairs of the nation :—therefore, that you may read me, and not spoil the dough-making, I will be very brief. In the law of 1660, from all dependencies of the British Crown in Asia, Africa, or America, all goods were to be exported or imported in British built and British owned ships, whereof the master and three-fourths of the mariners "at least" were to be English; no foreign goods to be brought even in British ships, except direct from the producing country, or, if that lay inland, the goods might be brought from the usual port of shipment; to this there were a few exceptions not necessary to be here specified. In regard of Europe, British shipping still was to be used exclusively, except in the case of ships actually belonging to the country in which the goods were produced, and they might bring their cargoes direct to England. From the coasting trade strangers were entirely excluded, except that one-fourth of the mariners might be foreigners. Now, the law of 1847 had meddled with much of all this decided statesmanship. With regard to the dependencies, it had determined that no goods should be exported, except in British ships, yet, sagaciously it conceded to the United States to carry goods to and from our most valuable settlement, the East Indies, thereby stultifying its own regulation. In other respects it was much the same as the law of 1660, though left open to tampering to an almost unlimited extent by order of the Queen in council. Then, as to foreign trade, not European; goods might be imported in ships of the country, or in any ship, if they were not for consumption in the United Kingdom. The European trade was regulated very similarly; goods must be imported in British ships or in ships of the country of production, if for British consumption; or in any ship, if merely to be warehoused and exported. The coasting trade for goods and passengers was confined to British hands.

It will be apparent from this that the law of 1847 was far more complex than that of 1660, and it may be doubted whether it was in any respect an improvement in its effect upon commerce, except as regards the facilities it afforded by its warehousing clauses. There can be no question at all, but that the favour shown to the United States was excessively ignorant and ill-judged; ignorant, because it failed to appreciate the prejudices of the American community, which have prevented all approach to reciprocity; and ill-judged, because it infringed the great principle of the law in the quarter of most importance to trade, namely, that which related to the East Indies. But the law of 1847, with its merits and demerits, was infinitely better than no law at all, which is the present state of the case.

The whole question of whether there should be a navigation law or not, turns upon whether the British nation intends or does not intend to transact its own carrying trade for itself. The endeavour to represent such protection as is afforded to the British marine by a navigation law, as a matter affecting the principle of free trade, is an unfair, a treacherous, and a deceptive sophism, turning merely upon a verbal quibble. Free trade does directly affect only the goods themselves, but the carriage of those goods is as distinct as the fixed stars are from the planets—which, though contemplated in a higher philosophy, all may be supposed to move; yet, if they do so, it is about different centres. The navigation law concerns itself solely with the trade of carrying, and with goods only, so far as they are affected by freight. The question is simple. No nation, since the world began, has attained to the first commercial position without previously attaining a mercantile marine superior to that of any other rival nation. The ships are the instruments of commerce; they open up commerce, they increase commerce, and they alone

can retain commerce. Every ship struck off the list of a mercantile marine, or not added when by judicious arrangement it might be added, is to that extent a diminution of the commercial power of a nation; and the foreign ship which takes its place in the supply of the world's necessity, is another lever added to prize up, and overturn the supremacy of such commercial nation. It is a voluntary act, by which so much of the commerce as may be carried in that ship is given over into the hands of opponents. Shipping, colonies, and commerce, are things utterly inseparable, and are dependent entirely upon shipping. As soon as the meaning of the three words is understood, the proposition becomes self-evident, and until liberality of opinion introduced a dread of our sea rights, by a species of hydrophobia in the dog days of free trade, it was never doubted but that the three interests were identical.

If the navigation laws were unfavourable to England, how is it that her supremacy dates from their institution; and that her commerce grew to what it is in spite of the so-called obstructions created by these laws? It cannot be denied that her greatness has been attained under them, and the only solid and statesmanlike reason for abandoning so great a success would be by showing that some other nation, say the United States, had, by the abolition of regulations of all sorts protective of shipping, been gradually outstripping our protected shipping; but this was never attempted to be shown—never pretended; we were willing to peril our success for the vague air-drawn theory of such an economist as Ricardo, who, in ignorance, or wilfully, misrepresents the opinions of writers whom he cites, to give support to the vain figment of his own overwrought and incapable policy. There were forty-four men who gave evidence before the special committee of the House of Lords, of whom eight were for the repeal of the

navigation laws, and out of these three were foreigners, and consequently, not impartial witnesses, not having the furtherance of British interests at heart; whilst against the repeal there were thirty-six, comprising merchants, shipowners, and shipbuilders, all steadfastly opposed to any change in the law; the merchants generally stating that they were unaware of suffering any inconvenience from the existing law, whilst the shipowners and builders spoke of it as a matter concerning their most vital interests. In addition to this, a hundred petitions, numerously signed by merchants, master mariners, shipowners, master shipwrights, mast and block makers, ropemakers, ship carpenters, artisans and seamen, riggers and lumpers, chain and anchor makers, boat-builders, ship-caulkers, sail-makers, were sent in, earnestly deprecating any change; and against this appeared one petition for the repeal on the part of the enlightened citizens of Montreal in Canada, a French race. There were a hundred petitions to one, and thirty-six witnesses to five against any theoretical meddling with the then existing law. In the face of this, the law was annulled; may we ask for what purpose was this farce of an inquiry gone through? Was it to render a foolish act egregiously foolish by collecting all the reasons against it previously to committing it? Ye powers of logic, buried in the folios of Aquinas, awake from your drowsy habitat; it is time for your machine god, the *in machinâ numen*, to appear. If you do not quickly come, the *dignus vindice nodus* will have strangled your unwitting servant, the British nation.

No nation on earth reciprocates with us in the true sense of the term. No nation but the United States can reciprocate with any pretence of equality; even they can give us, if they give all, much less than they can get from us. But they do not even do this. They call sailing round Cape Horn a coasting trade,

and they shut us out of that. At Liverpool some first-class ships were built to compete with the American, but it was a losing concern. Every order for goods which they sent over they accompanied with instructions as to the mode of shipment—and the English ships were never named.

But let us look to the practical working of the repeal of these laws. Foreign flags cut us out in our own ports. A French ship in the Mauritius will get a *higher freight* than a British ship, because she can go anywhere that the British ship can go; and over and above that, pays only half dues and duties in a French port. The foreigner can build ships cheaper; can sail them cheaper; can treat in any British port upon equal terms with our own shipping, and besides this has a bonus, in shape of protection, in any of the ports that belong to his own country. Is it to be wondered at, that in the face of these facts, the foreign tonnage, since 1849, has increased at the rate of 162 per cent. whilst British tonnage—swelled up as it is by the deceitful mode of making up the returns by reckoning in the bi-weekly voyages of steam vessels, chiefly engaged in passenger traffic—has only increased 60 per cent.? Is it to be wondered at that the tonnage of America has “out-topped,” *actually distanced*, *British tonnage*, whilst we infatuated fools sit babbling lunatic hymns to the crescent (as we will have it) moon of vaporous Free Trade. Ye daffed and bewildered legists, beldams of economy mumbling toothless tales and anile fables about wealth of nations, look ye for a mine of gold in the hen ye have slaughtered, and expect commerce to come to ye, forsooth, after the destruction of the ships that should have brought it. Free trade may be well enough in moderation, and in its legitimate sphere, but liberality in the carrying trade, and annihilation of every privilege of the colonist, is suicide—is political self-destruction. The carrying trade, like every other large branch of

industry, was self-supporting, and by its own operations contributed to the wealth of the community a much larger quota than anything the community can save out of cheaper freights. Freights do not appreciably enter into the price of goods; they are a retailer's question, and not a consumer's. They are not—but supposing they were a consumer's question, the nation collectively gains more by the existence of any large branch of industry, than all its contributions in support of such an institution amount to. Suppose for one moment that the mercantile marine of Great Britain were annihilated, and represent to yourself what would then, if commerce continued with us, which is impossible, be the amount paid away in freight. Is it possible to imagine that we should be the richer or the stronger for such a change, even allowing that freights became cheaper than they are now? A large mercantile marine is the only assured basis of a prosperous commerce; the only permanent source from which to organize a navy, that shall give us the command of the seas. By reimposing a navigation law, our colonies are so vast that we can soon take the lead of American tonnage again; but if we choose to neglect our colonies, and to turn a deaf ear to the shipping interest, in its cry of distress that comes up to us, we may make certain that as soon as America has established a superior mercantile marine, she will also obtain a navy that will drive us from the face of the waters; rob us of our supremacy, and insult the broad banner of England, that has floated triumphant since Edward obtained the proud title of "Sovereign of the Seas." No longer shall the souls of our children love the blue wave; no longer shall we count every undulation as a throb of the heart of liberty, in unison with the spirits of men who have walked in the path of Wickliffe and Luther, and who reckon the great waste of the sea as a royal demesne of England, and

a vehicle of Evangelism. Alas, that words so glorious, so little befit our present condition!

No doubt some of the rigorous provisions of the old navigation laws might well be abolished, and the whole code admits of great simplification. It has become too restrictive, and the various orders emanating from the Queen in council had made the law of 1847 a confused and ill-digested mass of regulations, each order being a petty infringement for a special case of the great principle of the code, which certainly was intended to ensure privileges to colonial and British shipping.

The great points that should be kept in view in drawing up the new law should be universality, simplicity, and moderation. In its universality, it should apply to our whole empire, without respect to one part more than another; wherever there are men of the *British race*, there the law should extend in its fullest operation. In simplicity, it should recognise no distinction other than British and foreign; but that distinction it should never lose sight of; and in its moderation it should so regulate its plan as to foster British commerce, and yet not prohibit foreign commerce by an exorbitant or fluctuating tariff. This I conceive it would not be very difficult to accomplish, if England were in earnest, and at all desirous to bring it about. It is only to be feared that the delusion of free trade has not yet wrought sufficient ruin and injury to the country; in other words, that England has not bought wisdom sufficiently dear yet, and has not yet paid enough for experience. If so, time and the canker must work longer, and sober minds must wait patiently, and sit the folly out, and pray that their country may awake, ere it be too late to tear out the corroding evil.

Before I go further, I ought to mention the obligation I am under in this subject of the colonies to

Mr. Thomas Banister, of the Inner Temple, a gentleman who has spent many years in the colonies, and has travelled through almost the whole of them. He knows them thoroughly from personal inspection; he is acquainted with the aspirations and wishes of the colonists, and, after much meditation, has embodied his information, plans, and reflections in a very important though very brief pamphlet, published some years ago, and styled "Britain and her colonial dependencies." It is written in a lucid and unaffected style, is remarkable for the breadth of its views, and the elegant simplicity of their enunciation. Its comprehensive, statesmanlike and practical suggestions are worthy of a Walsingham, or a Cecil—a race of thinkers almost extinct amongst modern Englishmen. I shall not make any further direct reference to this document, but simply say, that whatever appears to the reader to be of any value in the following comments on the colonies is not mine, but to be considered as being entirely derived from the above source.

"For the encouragement of British shipping and navigation," a principle operating lightly but universally is sufficient; and that which encourages British shipping is also sufficient to protect our colonies and our commerce. A little more thrown into the hands of our own people, wherever the British flag flies, than is to be obtained by foreigners, will, in our vast empire, form an enormous aggregate in our favour; and yet, in the individual operations of commerce, it need not press so heavily as to check even one operation, or to prevent its taking effect. The first step to be taken is to recognise the perfect equality of *all* our colonies inhabited by a British race. I say British race, for it would be ridiculous to expect an Ojibeway to enter into and assist in carrying out a thoroughly English policy; neither could we expect this of a Hindoo. This would be done by levying a duty of five per cent. on all British ships entering our

ports, colonial ships being of course considered as British ships; and a duty of ten per cent. on all foreign ships, without respect at all to country. This duty to be *ad valorem* upon an average derived from a certain number of preceding years, say seven, and subject to a fresh average at every successive cycle of the same number of years. There might be some exceptions made in articles of luxury, for the sake of raising revenue, such as duties on wine, Genoa velvets, costly lace, Dresden china, wrought plate, jewellery, and precious stones. Here revenue and policy would be jointly considered as, for instance, the wine duty, whether the present duty (supposing the wine disease to subside, and the increase of supply to be rendered possible, which it is not now) is not a prohibitory duty, and therefore not wise even as a revenue measure. All such things might be a question; but they are not an empire concern, they are questions of home detail.

All cargoes might be bonded at the merchant's option, the duty to be paid when taken out of bond; but the cargoes of foreign ships should pay one per cent. on bonding, and the remainder on being taken out of bond; but the one per cent. should be returned in drawback, if shipped again for exportation, so that there might be but little obstruction to warehousing in England.

This should be the empire's established commercial law; let foreigners do what they might, if even they took Mr. Cobden and Sir Robert Peel's ridiculous "open port" theory into favour, which, by the way, they appear very little likely to do, as the reader may see in Mr. Greenhow's pamphlet on the navigation laws. Into this law, however, should be introduced a reciprocity clause, and all foreign ships should be precisely so treated in England as British ships are treated by the respective nations of such foreign ships. They would have no ground for complaint; if they

reduced their tariff, ours would fall instantly to their level, unless they went below ten per cent.; then we should not follow them, for the empire principle would step in to prevent it; if they grumbled, we should say reciprocate; if they were content, so should we be. This would be perfectly fair, perfectly intelligible, and very easily regulated. With regard to the colonies themselves, now that I am about to enter on colonial policy, it will be seen that they are to have an independent legislature, and will levy their own duties as they please. But if any should fail to follow us in our empire principle, we should place such recusant colony under our foreign tariff law, till such time as they were able to appreciate their mistake, and to treat us as we were willing to treat them.

We now come to the political question, namely, colonial government. There are five ways of treating colonies. You may do as Greece did: send out the surplus population to plant a new state, leaving that state entirely to its own resources, to make its own laws, regulate its own commerce, and fight its own battles, merely trusting to parentage for the good feeling which that relationship usually generates by a law of nature planted deeply in the constitution of man. The effect of this principle of non-interference is seen in the perpetuation and multiplication of many petty states, hard to unite and easy to disunite; which the first influential monarch, Philip of Macedon, readily turning to his account, reduced to an absolute subjection; the Asiatic colonies looking on quietly the while, and waiting, like a flock of sheep, to receive a like fate at the hands of Philip's warrior son. Then there is the Roman plan, which is to keep the colony in absolute subjection, more as a garrison in a hostile country, than as a body of free citizens of equal rights with the metropolis. This was in Rome's conquering period; but on the establishment of the empire, the expansive warrior principle was at an end,

—then so great liberty was accorded to free cities, and the process of naturalization became so rapid, that it demoralized Rome itself; money supplanted nature, the very soldiery were rendered mercenary, and the seeds of dissolution were scattered broadcast throughout the empire,—soon to bring forth fruit of ruin, corruption, and despair. Thirdly, there is the modern plan of colonizing unoccupied territory, and cramping the colony by a selfish home policy. Fourthly, the plan of neglecting to protect a colony by the adoption of some still more suicidal theory, based upon a vague and impracticable liberality, such as that all men are equal; that the Briton and the alien are the same to us; that water is thicker than blood, or at least as thick; that commerce is dearer than men; that wealth is strength, the sinews of war, and of empire; and not the muscles of men's arms and legs set into action by sturdy hearts of loyal affection, one interest beating to one pulse of love. But there is a fifth method, which is to recognise all colonies as corporate counties having a local government, such as the municipal bodies of London and our great cities have; but yet, for empire purposes, associated, and sending, like our great cities, representatives to Parliament. It is said that steam has narrowed Dover Straits, and brought the continent nearer, to England's great disadvantage; if it has done so, a wise statesman will look about for a corresponding advantage, and he will find it in the nearer approach of our colonies, and the consequent concentration of our imperial resources. All the colonies almost are now within fourteen or twenty-one days distance of us, the Canadas are not further than the Orkneys were in Elizabeth's reign, and may therefore, without difficulty, be treated as beyond-sea counties. If every colony were thus represented, what a surprising influx of intelligence might we not expect to introduce into our councils—what a ready source of information should we not provide upon all

colonial questions—questions on which our present ignorance is lamentable.

Happily one principle has been conceded to the colonies, which is that of local administration. They are allowed now to regulate their own affairs in their own way, and to manage for themselves those interests which we, being ignorant of, ought never to have pretended to manage; so far the dominion of the Colonial Office has been circumscribed; but, unhappily, as is always the case with politicians of the Sir Robert Peel type—of the school of expediency, that is to say—nothing right is ever done without an accompaniment of something wrong being done together with it. When we conceded local self-government to the colonies, common prudence should have suggested the necessity of instantly replacing this link by some equitable principle of empire association, otherwise it is manifest to the plainest apprehension that the colonies must cease to have any positive ties binding them to the mother country. Instead of this, we resigned our power of dictation, and forgot entirely to counterpoise the concession by an act of mutual federation. This is nothing short of imbecility—that bereavement of mind which the ancients thought that the gods sent as a forerunner of destruction. The Canadas have been permitted to enter upon a treaty with the United States; a treaty of their own, and without consulting the home authorities. Ye powers of empire what was this but treason—"flat treason 'gainst the kingly state?"—disruption of all rule, all order? Henceforth we may bid adieu to all authority, for there is none remaining; miscreants may walk at large, for there can be no attainder of treason against an empire that does not exist. That colonial act of usurpation if not recalled, is a signed and sealed testimony to the death of the late British empire.

I believe it was done in ignorance, and permitted

in ignorance. The absence of head, and the vacuity of principle that has drifted, I cannot say directed, the councils of the mother country at all times to over-stringent punctilio, or to too great laxity and indifference, may easily account for the crazed acquiescence of the authorities here in colonial treason; and the filmy bewilderment of the colonists as to legislative first principles may have led them into this disloyalty unwittingly, but, alas! what can be hoped from such ignorance? It reminds one of a couple of mopping idiots playing at self-destruction. Who can hope to awaken such minds to the importance or the value of sane policy? Alas, alas! will not the awaking come too late, the clarion sound when the camp is taken, the watchmen cry upon the outpost when the citadel itself has yielded!

"Heu, heu, quam brevibus pereunt ingentia causis
Imperium tanto quæsitum sanguine, tanto
Servatum, quod mille ducum peperere labores,
Quod tantis Romana manus contexuit annis
Proditor unus iners angusto tempore vertit.

Claudian, lib. 2, Ruff.

Wherever the American trader now goes, he is an emissary of discontent. He taunts the colonist with his thralldom; he shows him that he has no voice and no interest in the empire. Give him a voice and this disaffection will cease; in the event of a war every colonist will be for us, and will help us by issuing letters of marque, and in many other ways so effectually, that we could sweep the seas of all opponents. The whole world combined could not cope with us.

The colonies might be represented in the Imperial Parliament; it is absurd to talk of a precedent; there is no precedent for the British empire; it is the privilege of wisdom to act so as to make a precedent; it is the glory of an empire to go beyond precedent.

Right reason and even-handed justice are better than all the parallels of technical precedent that pedants could rake from history and law, though they should critically investigate every extant memorial from the Deluge to the fresh-coined documents of yesterday. Precedent is the mischief of law, and the very foster-mother of maladministration; to-day is not yesterday, change has supervened, and with it the reason of yesterday's conduct has likely enough evaporated with the hour; to repeat the act because it was done yesterday is a superstitious endeavour to commit ourselves to error and bad policy.

Every colony, then, attaining a certain given British population should return deputies to Parliament, and every such colony should possess absolute legislative control for local purposes. The deputy should be elected by at least two-thirds of the colonial legislature; and any colonist should be eligible to represent a constituency in the United Kingdom if elected, simply on the ground that he is an Englishman, and entitled, just as much as a native, to all an Englishman's privileges. The members should be elected for periods of three, five, or seven years, unaffected by any change in the Imperial Parliament. In return for all this, every colony, after twenty years location, should bear its quota of expenses incurred for the defences of the empire, which it should raise through its own local legislature. There can be little doubt but that this plan, if vigorously carried out and faithfully adhered to, would, in conjunction with the commercial policy above indicated, cement an almost indissoluble union between the United Kingdom and the colonies. They would experience all the endearing ties of friendship; they would perceive that geographical degrees could not separate very friends; they would discover that the sturdy British heart was large enough to embrace all the work that could be wrought by the sturdy British hand; and a colonist and a home-born

Englishman, though their nativities were severed by space, might, on meeting, exchange intimacies and love tokens, exclaiming with Milton to his Lycidas :—

“For we were nursed upon the self-same hill,
Fed the same flock by fountain, shade, and rill.”

Then would the wicked tremble as they ever do when honest men shake hands. And oh! unspeakable glory to the architect who shall erect this great alliance, make order out of chaos, loyalty out of treason, friendship out of suspicion, profit out of ruin, and withal fortify to freedom so broad a precinct, and so royal in the globe. His name shall be an everlasting theme to more than Orphean measures sung. Cherubic harp, and seraphim with fire-infused tongue, will stilly rest in heaven's exalted halls to catch the earthly harmony of such a deed uprising. For holy deeds, believe it, in melody approach seraphic songs,—and picked celestial quires will stoop to listen to a shout of godly liberty, entranced. But where is the man to do this great thing, and to perform this goodly work in the earth that the Lord hath made? On earth thy will, O Lord, “thy will be done on earth.” We wait for the manifestation of thy pleasure to bestow upon us this rich gift of a princely spirit that may guide, unsullied by self-interest, our gnarled and knotted growth to a cosmical order and unity.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEFENCES OF ENGLAND.

"Your ships are not well manned :
Your mariners are muleteers, reapers, people
Ingrossed by swift impress."

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, Act 3, Sc. 7.

THE consideration of the royal navy divides naturally into two sections—men and shipping, the vessels of war, and the men who are to man them. We will take the manning first, because it is by far the most important part of the question, and apparently the least understood. Ships are easily built, but men are not always to be had; novelties may revolutionise the build of ships, but nothing can obviate the necessity for men. The French, by their "Equipage de Ligne," have long ago settled this question, and by its means, however unjustifiable on the score of liberty, regarded from an English point of view, they can count upon the services of more seamen than they are ever likely to require. It is said that, by its means, the state can reckon upon some 150,000 men, which is more than we have hitherto required at any period. During the last war with France, when we had a hundred sail of the line and innumerable smaller vessels, the number of our seamen only amounted to 147,000. Yet we, with a marine of more than 250,000

sailors, cannot count with certainty upon manning one line of battle ship freshly commissioned. Ships wait for six months before they can make up a crew; and all officers say it would be impossible to fit out a fleet without having recourse to impressment; the violence of which, though theoretically more defensible, is practically more felt than the systematic compulsion of the French system.

Happily for us, one or two persons who had influence with the press took the matter up seriously, some nine or ten months since, and the Derby administration had the wisdom to perceive that the cry was well founded. A commission was appointed to ascertain the best mode of manning the navy, and Sir John Pakington, in the most laudable manner, strove to remedy the wretched inefficiency of our fleet, in the matter of ships. If only for this, it is to be hoped that the Derby government will stand; it would be a pity to lose so efficient a first lord as we have found in Sir John Pakington. When will this folly become extinct, of shifting efficient men, who understand the work, for inefficient ones, on every change of ministry? The Royal Commission, however, for manning the navy has done surprisingly little to help forward this great business. It has merely repeated, in a servile manner, the report of the committee of naval officers, made in 1852. The suggestions are a mass of confusion, and may be said to afford no solution whatever of this difficult question. There is no intelligible principle discoverable from the beginning to the end. It is useless to give the heads of suggestions that show no head. They propose to establish training ships for about 2000 boys, who enter the navy annually; this is well enough. The commission recognise the necessity, "becoming daily more and more essential," for seamen-gunners, and they propose, "*risum teneatis, amici!*" that of the 4000 men, called the reserve of seamen in the home ports, 1000 should be trained to

gunnery. Why, it would not furnish captains of the gun to nine 120-gun ships. Certainly, this is a choice specimen of the value of commissions of inquiry—about as likely to answer the required end, as it would be to accomplish the London water supply with a soup ladle, kept travelling between Kew and London Bridge. Why, Peter Morris, the Dutchman, inventor of the water-engine by London Bridge arch, would have laughed to scorn such an invention as this. The coast guard in time of war is to be dragged in, 12,000 strong; how much better it would be to organise these men for the defence of the coast, and, as their duties would be generally easy, to hold out retirement into this service as a sort of reward to well-conducted men in the navy. These, the marines and short service pensioners, amount to 30,000, and the commission make up another 30,000, by 10,000 naval coast volunteers already in existence (and a very inefficient body in the opinion of high naval authorities), and 20,000 royal naval volunteers, a corps to be raised, making altogether 60,000 men—a heterogeneous and unreliable medley, and only raising our establishment numerically to two-thirds of the number of disciplined men (disciplined, and some highly disciplined), that France can any day count upon. The proposition is wretchedly, impotently inadequate. It is not numerically large enough, nor is it constitutionally good enough. The number and quality are both deficient. The proposals of Mr. Lindsay, the dissentient commissioner, may be pronounced, in comparison with those of the commission, as being admirable and complete; and indeed, regarded from any point of view, the document is able and valuable. I cannot be expected to enter into a minute criticism of Mr. Lindsay's views; space and perhaps competency are both wanting. It must suffice that I lay down a few aphorisms, embodying what I conceive to be the true principles upon which this all-important question should be determined;

and then state nakedly, and without reservation, what in the main are the practical measures to be adopted.

APHORISMS.

1. The introduction of steam power for the propulsion of ships has introduced speed and certainty into naval operations, whilst formerly, with the wind for a motive power, the inconstancy of that element entirely precluded calculation.

2. Steam power may be said to have narrowed the Straits of Dover, and not to have "bridged them over," as the phrase runs in common parlance.

3. The commerce of England has been doubled since the last war. Steam power (as by No. 2) has narrowed the Channel. So that our security against invasion is diminished, whilst the incentive to the attempt has been augmented in a twofold degree.

4. Increased risk requires increased insurance; and perfect insurance, so far as that lies within human foresight: any measure that falls short of such perfect insurance is not to be considered cheap, but wasteful.

5. The requisite force for the defence of England and the colonies is to be first ascertained; secondly, the cheapest method of providing that defence.

6. A military precision is now attainable in naval movements; with precision, a necessity for military strategy has sprung up, and the two services are brought into analogous proximity; so that naval officers require a military training.

7. Improved gunnery has rendered military training necessary for the men. Steam and gunnery convert the ocean into a vast military battle plain; both officers and men will henceforth need soldiership.

8. The Romans and Carthaginians put soldiers on board ship to fight, for the Mediterranean was more a lake than a sea. England became mistress of the high seas, where the winds were rude, by substituting

seamanship for soldiership. But soldiership is again paramount, and she will now wisely replace sailors with fighters.

9. Our standing army, except the cavalry, must be disciplined for sea service by two months service annually at sea. The soldier must now be considered to be simply a fighter; and not a fighter on land only.

10. The Marines should be amalgamated with the present artillery, and the joint corps should be raised to 60,000 men, trained to sea and land gunnery, and practised in the use of the rifle and small arms.

11. An inviolable principle in the formation of our reserves is, that no useful bodies of men employed upon special services should be included in them. The 8,000 dock labourers and the 10,000 coastguard cannot be employed to complete crews without derangement of the arsenals and exposure of the coast, and the same holds good in all cases. This mendicant system is vicious.

These are the chief points that pertain to the principle of the naval service. Some of them are obvious to everybody; some are recognised by Mr. Lindsay; some are deduced from Sir Howard Douglas's "Treatise on Steam Warfare;" some are the results of my own meditation, dimly seen and slowly formed many months ago by painful reflection upon the unprotected condition of our island shores, which I have loved not only as every real Englishman must, because it is his birthplace, but because it is the land of speech, not verbose indeed, but FREE, whilst all the rest of Europe is struck dumb; and I think free speech is worth fighting for.

In the last war with France we had to maintain for some years 147,000 men in our navy. Mr. Lindsay thinks we should now require 200,000 in the event of a continuous war. Far from being excessive, this estimate falls below the truth; to *win* we should require nearer 300,000. This is beside the question,

except that it may help us to fix the right point at which to keep the peace establishment and the reserves. Mr. Lindsay thinks 120,000 men in all to be sufficient. With all deference to Mr. Lindsay's high authority, I venture to differ very widely from him. If he thinks that the country will refuse to provide more, I have nothing else to reply than "Very likely." But if he imagines that that number can defend our shores and commerce, I dissent from him body and soul, so far as knowledge and will render me capable of dissent. It is my fixed belief that 200,000, including seamen, sea-soldiers, and reserves, would not be a man too much. We may have to fight France and Russia together. France alone reckons 150,000 seamen (a large proportion being well-disciplined), besides an army of 600,000 men. This coalition may be scouted, but it is for all that likely enough to happen; and if it were to happen, your 200,000 men would be on the wrong side of sufficiency. The fleets of these two states are simply offensive instruments; they have nothing to defend. Let us now see how this force ought to be composed. It will consist of seamen in active service, and seamen reserves; of naval gunners (Aphorism 10); and troops of the line mobilized for sea service (Aphorism 9).

To commence with the most important part of the future service, the naval gunners. As skilled artillery requires long and laborious practice to attain efficiency, it is obvious, that as there can be no substitute found for them, and as they cannot be improvised at short warning, their numbers must be maintained upon a war footing. In the last war we had a hundred sail of the line, and we may be sure that in the next war we shall not require less. A hundred sail of the line, reckoned at ninety guns each, would give 9000 guns. Every gun has its captain, who must be a skilled gunner; but, lest the captain be disabled or killed, it is reckoned necessary that there should be two skilled gunners to each gun. So that 18,000 artillerists would

be required for the hundred line of battle ships. But this would only form half the fleet; the frigates and smaller vessels would require at least as many again. From this it appears that 36,000 men would be required for naval gunnery, to be supplied out of the artillery corps provided by Aphorism 10. There would be, perhaps, 30,000 troops of the line required, as by Aphorism 9. This would complete the fighting men.

Of seamen in active service 60,000 would be necessary; for, with a fleet of thirty-six line of battle ships and vessels of lower class to correspond, we had 40,000 seamen, which was confessed on all hands a short and insufficient number. Sir John Pakington proposes that our fleet shall, in 1860, amount to fifty-six line of battle ships, with frigates and smaller class vessels to correspond, so that 60,000 seamen will prove barely enough.

The naval coast volunteers are pronounced by high authority—especially by the editor of the *United Service Gazette*, who shows minute acquaintance with the details of both services—to be an inconvenient and ill-constituted corps; these should be disbanded.

The royal naval volunteers should be raised in three reserves of 20,000 men each. The first reserve, being levied from the coasting and short voyage trade, would be first called upon to serve, and should, therefore, receive the highest pay, say 7s. 6d. per month; the second reserve, 5s. per month; the third reserve, 2s. 6d. per month. The two latter would be raised from the over-sea trades. These reserves would cost about £200,000.

We should thus procure

60,000 seamen in active service during peace.

60,000 in the three reserves of royal naval volunteers.

36,000 artillerists.

30,000 or more troops of the line.

186,000 men in all, that might be relied upon for

manning efficiently any fleet that we could put to sea with. The men, in fact, would be forthcoming faster than the ships could be got ready.

It cannot be denied but that this would be expensive, but then it would be effectual. As respects the 36,000 gunners, they would be equivalent, as far as the navy estimates are concerned, to an augmentation of the present corps of marines by 21,000—and Mr. Lindsay proposes to raise the marines by his plan to 30,000. By this means we should know what we paid for, and get what we paid for, and the mendicant system would be finally put an end to (Aphorism 11).

I cannot enter into the questions of training up boys for the royal navy, or of providing, as Mr. Lindsay proposes, officers for the reserves from the masters and officers of the merchant service, or the establishment of a compulsory seaman's fund (though I take this latter for granted); nor yet of the position of the medical officers afloat, &c., &c. Of course these are questions of great importance, but I decline them for want of sufficient knowledge, and because, strictly speaking, they do not necessarily belong to the question I have undertaken to handle, viz., the manning of our navy.

The ships form the second section of this subject; very little need be added on this head to the statement which Sir John Pakington made on bringing forward the navy estimates. The country owes a deep debt of gratitude to Sir John for the energy he has displayed in repairing the deficiencies in the *matériel* of our navy, which the culpable and unpatriotic laxity of others had permitted to exist. We heartily hope that he will continue in office long enough to carry out a thorough reform, and that Parliament will support him in his honest wish to raise our force in 1860 to fifty-six line of battle ships, and a further addition of frigates. But we should not stop short of sixty

line of battle ships for the peace establishment; especially when the French navy alone will consist of fifty-two line of battle ships, and the navy of Russia of forty.

Our Channel fleet should consist permanently of twenty sail of the line, and forty sail is a bare allowance for the protection of our trade on foreign stations. We should regret to see the navy enlarged much beyond this point. For everything relating to naval warfare is in a transition state, and our object should be to construct a navy sufficient, but only just sufficient, to afford our shores and commerce reasonable protection.

Where expenditure ought to be most lavish is, in our dockyards and arsenals. Solidly good stores of timber, implements, and material of all sorts, should be collected at some immense central inland dépôt connected by railway with the principal Government yards in the United Kingdom, so that on any sudden attack by an enemy, our stores would not be exposed to destruction. We ought to increase the ship-building capacities of our docks, and introduce every possible improvement, and the best inventions for facilitating the rapid execution of work, and they should be fortified against sudden attack by sea and land. By such arrangement the fleet *in esse* will not be very formidable, but the fleet *in posse* almost incalculable; and the latter fleet would be built according to the last improvements of science, giving us a double advantage over any foe who tried to fight us with obsolete inventions.

The navy, however, if placed on the best possible footing, cannot, alone, be a sufficient safeguard; a land force is indispensable. To raise the line to 100,000 men would be a measure of bare sufficiency, considering that as above, 30,000 at least, would be required for sea service. We should thus have, for England and Ireland—

70,000 men for line and cavalry, available for land service.

24,000 artillery, as by Aphorism 10 . . . do.

30,000 pensioners do.

10,000 coast guard.

134,000 men.

The coast guard should be formed into a coast artillery corps, and guns should be planted in every creek and bay where an enemy's ship could put in; the duty of the coast guard should be to work these guns, so that no cruiser could approach our coast without getting a shot or two into her hull.

An efficient militia of 200,000 men should be raised, 50,000 of whom should be instructed in artillery practice. This would be a constitutional force, and a great political make-weight against the standing army above proposed. In point of fact, however, the army itself would be the less dangerous by being trained at sea; nobody apprehends any danger to the constitution from sailors, and sea soldiers would be half sailors. The militia should be embodied in the three winter months of every year, when work is scarce, so that the employment would fall in as welcome assistance. The serjeants and corporals should be old soldiers who had served their time, or had been wounded and disabled. Thus regulated, the militia would be a preventive of idleness rather than an incentive, which is now objected to it. The whole population would become gradually inoculated with some military knowledge, and, what is more valuable, a military spirit. Machiavelli, who is the soundest of politicians, and withal a man of towering and penetrating genius, which is rare in the tribe of political writers, maintains that war should not be a man's sole occupation; he holds up the Roman institutions as worthy of imitation, and their system was similar to the trained bands. Armed citizens are no terror

to a well governed state. Rome lasted as a free community for a period of 400 years, and the first step to her ruin was the disarming of the citizens by Augustus, and the creation of the prætorian guard and mercenary cohorts.

Volunteer rifle companies should be encouraged by Government. The dress to be of the stoutest and simplest material, so that the cost might be as light as possible, but the cut should be of the most approved military fashion. It is the form, and not the material, that gives a soldierly character to the uniform. These companies should be drilled, if possible, together with the pensioners, interspersed one with the other. The veterans would teach them volumes in minutes; it would promote good fellowship, and the respect of the youngsters would rejoice these fine old men.

The rifle should be put into the hands of every townsman and rustic, under thirty-five years of age, who could be induced to practise with it at stated times. Every village throughout the kingdom should have its target, which should replace the archery butts of ancient times, the rifle being the substitute for the old yew bow. It would become a favourite sport with the people, and would develope to a high degree the national health, and arouse a spirit of manly self-reliance; which, after all, are the only true defences of any people, whether against corruption at home or aggression from abroad. The Swiss plan of distributing prizes to the best shots would excite emulation, and British riflemen would become as redoubtable marksmen as was the English archer formerly.

The holidays and red letter days of the olden time have fallen into disuse; this is a most unfortunate circumstance, and well worthy the consideration of every thoughtful legislator. For want of such periods of relaxation and leisure many manly sports have ceased to be practised by the rural population,

greatly to the detriment of the race of men; and in towns there is no relief whatever from the debilitating occupations that employ the majority of our citizens. The consequence of this deprivation of a reasonable leisure is seen in the growing desecration of the Sabbath, now become a crying evil in this country and people. This false economy of the national household is styled mercantile energy, but it is only a reckless confiscation of health, and done in defiance of ancient wisdom. A holiday every fortnight, in the *middle of the week*, would prove a true economy. If Saturday were taken, there would be no return to work, in many cases, on the Monday. Twenty-six days would thus be obtained, or say a month in every year, which would be ample for practice, after once the use of the rifle was acquired.

Before I close this chapter on the defences, I ought to allude to the organization of the war departments. The assimilation of the land and sea services more imperatively demands unity of action and centralization. There should be no Commander in chief, no Admiralty lords, no Master of the Ordnance as now understood, but each department should be managed by a board and president. Controlling these three boards there should be a new war office, directed by five officers, to be called a sub-ministry of war, and their appointment should be permanent; two to be naval men of great experience, two to be military men, and one an engineer, or artillery officer; the head of the department to be a cabinet minister, called the Minister of War, who would change with the government. By this machinery we should obtain unity of action, and the services would experience no fluctuation by the successive changes of government. For instance, if Sir John Pakington were thrown out of office now, by the fall of the Derby government, it is possible that his plans would be remodelled, disturbed, and perhaps neglected; this must be avoided,

whether the above proposition be received or not. I would also have a special department with a secretary of its own ; to take into consideration all suggestions of improvement, from whatever quarter sent in, the duty of the secretary and staff being to report upon them to the sub-ministry, and return an answer in writing to the party suggesting such improvement. There are innumerable and valuable hints neglected now, and pooh-poohed by men in office, the adoption of which would immensely benefit both services. The principle should apply universally to the examination of every substantive suggestion, from the noblest principle in strategy to the cut of a soldier's wrist-band. The sub-ministry and the three boards should all be located in one building, say Somerset House, so that verbal communications might save writing. This is all I have to offer by way of suggestion, and I think the country would be thus provided with a sufficient force in men and material; and if to this unity of purpose be added, I venture to think we might, under Providence, set at rest for ever the disgraceful clamours which are now periodically raised when there is the least likelihood of a rupture with any Continental state; and we should be ready, without panic, to give a good account of ourselves in the world, even in the event of a treacherous and sudden blow being struck at our country by the feigning friendly hand of some crowned renegade and sceptred assassin.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONCLUSION.

Δειμαίνω μνη, τήνδε πόλιν, Πολυκαίδη, ὕβρις,
Ἦπερ Κενταυροὺς ὠμοφάγους, ὀλέσῃ.

I fear, good Sir, lest wanton violence,
Such as the Centaurs use, tearing raw flesh,
May bring this State to ruin.

SENTENCES OF THEOGNIS, 541.

"At first, I thought that liberty and heaven,
To heavenly souls had been all one; but now
I see that most through sloth had rather serve."

PARADISE LOST, vi. 164.

LIBERTY is not the indefeasible heritage of any people, and no country is so rootedly possessed of its rights but that its worthiness to possess them may be rudely called in question; and woe betide that country whose manhood is not equal to the trial. Just so much liberty as you are worthy of have you, and no more, in perpetuity. Virtue, piety, and valour, are the only purchase-money wherewith to buy freedom, and the only rampart to defend it with when bought. If money is better, and of more price, take money; but if you may buy gold too dear—believe it—it is not so with wisdom and virtue; for them to pay down the jewel of life itself is cheap, for the gem of breath so impawned will win God's gift of immortality.

Riches are good, if you set not your heart upon them; but the grovelling doctrine which will place a nation's happiness in its coffers, and make wealth and prosperity, —with the trumpery economists,—synonymous, is perilous to any people. Yet, this is the case in England. The rich merchant with no scruples but those of Troy weight, finds vast respect, though he is but a gilded rogue, whose whole virtue lies in the bank, or in his ships, or the iron chest; he carries very little with him, and none in him. His counting-house, his place of work, is his only home, wife, children, home, and family, are cousins-german to him, but pounds are his Lares and Penates, his hearth and altar, his kingdom, country, citadel and kindred. The lines of his ledger are the lines of his conduct, brokerage his Bible. He believes in gold, and Exchanges regulate the articles of his creed. At home he is in exile. His wife, with too much leisure on her hands, and too much money in her purse, affects society beyond her position, but within her means, for the marital drudge furnishes the *entrée*, having robbed St. Peter of that golden key which “opes amain.” She learns conventional phrase, and conventional manners, imbibes the ideas of *ton*, smiles with an inward superiority at the vulgarity of her husband, and teaches her children the same filial sentiment. She, the daughter of Brevet-major Todhunter Stobbs Twislewhisker, who was the son of Alderman Stobbs, and inherited a paddock at Ball's Pond from the maternal Twislewhiskers, whence the name. Stobbs, who was the son of nobody, found by a milkman in Liquorpond Street, on a December morning, and carried like Romulus to Lupa, the milk-woman, to become by true Roman growth the illustrious founder of the Stobbs Twislewhiskers—she, scion of this venerable race, erects an exceedingly comfortable household out of the contempt she bears her partner—that fleshy nucleus of the gold god of Change Alley, highly revered of mortals in-

habiting E.C. Oh, pah! this gold, it were cheap to throw it all away, if we could but get back the simple manners that first began to bring it here. The pristine manners of a sturdy race, who left dress, display, and fashion to their so-called betters, and by a comparative freedom from the tyrannies of custom developed that individual, frugal, and hardy freedom that made them the befitting corporeal receptacle of that glorious spirit of religious emancipation which blazed in far darting beams from Luther,—the dilucular star of Bethlehem, that led men back thridding the host of false Papal lights, to the Divine simplicities of the stable, and the manger-child again.

The terrific disclosures of immorality that daily come before the public; the legal facilities that are now offered for obtaining divorce, furnishing encouragement to adulterous alliances; the scandalous frauds that disgrace the trading community, and make commerce like a wild beast, with stains as frequent as the leopard's skin; the contemptible obeisance that men and women offer to the possessor of mere money; the trashy sentiment of a low philanthropy which will reclaim criminals with muffins, and leave the hard working man to nurture a family on starvation wages; the running miles to play the bountiful, whilst round the corner there is a cry of woe from some half-remunerated dependent of your own; the cant of scenical special services, when half the parish churches are empty; the twaddle of tracts, where some transparent fiction, to avoid a harsher word, is expected to propagate an evangelical moral to the sickening of every wholesome and fresh healthy mind; the psalm-singing that brings pelf; the religious hypocrisy that begets reputation; the false education that makes the poor knowing and insolent, instead of humble and industrious; on the other hand, the scepticism which boldly blasphemes the great All-Giver of its treasonous reason; the ill-disposed demagogue who shouts

loud for reform, making sharp the wedge of revolution the while; the Papist carrying on covertly his insidious game, and in such haste to secure it, that he would peril England's holy sod for the jesuitical incubus of his narrow *Catholicism*. His trefoil flower of Christian virtue, comprehends a Hope, that shall roast charity by an "Act of Faith;" for your true Papist believes that in theology, as our great naturalist, John Ray believed that in chemistry, fire was a "catholic solvent;" death by combustion being the Papal starting point for salvation. But the list of canting villanies would be painfully too long to recount, if even it could be recounted here. But, all these things, and a myriad more, cry aloud to heaven for expurgation. Our liberty was not given us for this; and if we do not nationally humble ourselves, and put away our womanish vanities from us, recurring to early principles, to frugality, honesty, humility, and hearty, but not pretentious piety, we shall fall. Our glorious commerce, our stately ships, our foster-father, old Ocean, shall all fail us; our temples, our aged cities, our groves, and hills, and spreading pasture fields, shall be trodden under foot by some accursed invader; and the grand Parthenon of wisdom's laws, the noble sanctuary of the tongue—the last stronghold and vantage ground of Truth, whence with royal clarion she rang, from time to time, blood-stirring peals of liberty to sunken Europe, to the great joy of many a speechless anchorite in that inarticulate wilderness of tyranny—shall topple down and be as Carnac, Memphis, or old Thebes.

Laws are nothing—institutions are nothing—history, with its preaching of generations is nothing. Arts and sciences,—and genius, which is the very vital breath of them—are nothing. The great speeches of the great are gone, and are henceforth dumb; if there are no hearts as great, to meditate, to echo, and re-utter them. The wonderful Areopagitica of the Bread

Street scrivener's son, may go hastily to the Expurgatory Index, with none to lament it, if the earnest God-fearing spirit of the commonwealthsman has ceased to animate the children of the commonwealth. It was but a rhetorician's flourish when Cicero, "marrow of eloquence" as he was, proudly vaunted that other nations might endure servitude; but that liberty was the peculiar of Rome (Phil. 6, 7): "*Alicæ nationes servitutem pati possunt, populi Romani est propria libertas*;" for at that hour, the purple Cæsars stood at the porch of Rome's entry, knocking for admission. It was in vain that Clodius consecrated his house to Liberty, when Rome had desecrated her shrine—which is built up of living stones, quarried from the spirit of manhood.

Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens sibi que imperiosus.

Who is truly free? inquires thoughtful Horace. Who is truly free? The wise man only who has won, what tyrants never can usurp, the empire of himself. Seneca, and the French Seneca, Montaigne, are much of the same mind. "*La vraie liberté c'est pouvoir toute chose sur soy.*" "*Potentissimus est qui se habet in potestate.*" "What is the best thing in life?" asked a bystander of the sage tub-tenant, Diogenes. "Liberty," said the quaint hero, "for the vicious man is not free, nor the man of many wants." Neither is the nation of many wants free, nor the sinful nation. How hardly, then, shall the rich and commercial nation enter into and preserve for long the kingdom of liberty! In heathen times there was no way for it, and since Christianity there is but one way. In the pagan world the Cadmean men sprung fresh from the soil, invulnerable because of their interior qualities, bore down upon the corrupted state, and swept it from the world's face, and sometimes also from the memory of the world; till luxury, removing the secret armour of their northern morals, and frugality

exposed them in turn—though by this time plated with outside steel—to the avenging sentence of some fresh Cadmean sword. A terrible magistracy were those soil-sprung northmen to the pagan world. It was not possible to prevent this when men had no belief, and it will not now be possible if an effete, a sceptical, or an over-civilising Christianity should impair that simple and invincible belief. We think, or shall I say, we hope, it has not come to this in England. We think, hope, pray it has not. But if it has not, we call upon the whole army of English Christians, upon every soldier, who,—at fitful times, according to the pleasure of his Maker—experiences the enlistment of a divine afflatus, to take thought not only for himself, but for his country; to throw off all needless trappings of this world's fashionment, all love of gold, all false ambition, all gusts of the palate, and sensual gratifications of the touch, and to satisfy himself with the common needs of a man: "*Sapiens sibi que imperiosus.*" Self-denial is the cross Christ has laid upon us; if we will humbly take it up and carry it, like Simon the Cyrenean, there is no fear for us, nor for our country. We shall hold our treasure as a stewardship to do good to others, and not to gratify ourselves, and with the wealth of Attalus we shall be safe from the corruptions of wealth. All France marching northward for our coast would only make the great heart of England leap for joy at approaching vengeance, to be wreaked on the disturbers of the comity of nations; we should feel that an unseen host, the Lord of hosts, was with us, and that our good sword, like brave King Roger's of Sicily, gave better title than all the parchments of alliance and the treaties and codes of Christendom. He engraved upon his sword plate, Paul Sarpi tells us, the hexameter

"Apulus, et Calaber, Siculus mihi servit, et Afer."

It is an emblem, that what the sword cannot hold is not yours.

Reader, if you are an Englishman, and if you are not stand aside, I conjure you nourish by stern self-denial whatever gift of virtue is in you. Virtue is the soldierliness that God will ask of every one of us ; practise it and prosper ; then go forth, fearing nothing but God alone. Every expression of feeling, by reason of the hypocrisies of this world, society votes ridiculous. No doubt what I have just said will be called Puritanical bombast, and facetious men will laugh at the contrast between the shrunken and petty oracle that utters and the oracular thing uttered. Take no witty hearsay about all this, but go into yourself, and in solitude listen for an echo ; if you hear it, the voice, though "*præterea nihil*," is a truth. But if you will disregard it, go, and as far as in you lies your country with you. A miracle only can save you both ; and when the tyrant comes—for come he will—perhaps you may still have freedom left to scrape gold together, though it be but for others. This you may perhaps do,

“ Or to Lyæan Bacchus go
For the sole liberty slaves know ; ”

and by servility, toil, and drunken orgies wear out the little relic of your abject years. History will say of you and of your island, they revoked

“ The high decree,
Unchangeable, eternal, which ordained
Their freedom ; they themselves ordained their fall.”

If she will, there is still time for choice by the one way, and only one ; but if a blind, besottedly prosperous, infatuation will not take that one way, then we end as we began—that England subsists by miracle.



